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# POLITICAL HISTORY

OF

# THE STATE OF JEYPORE.

BY

COLONEL J. C. BROOKE,

LATE POLITICAL AGENT, JEYPORE.

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# RECORDS

OF

# THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

## FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

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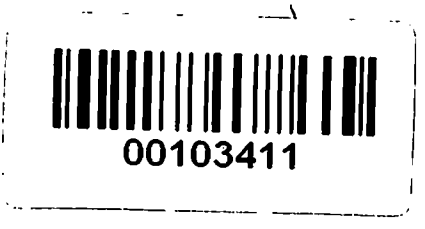

# POLITICAL HISTORY

OF

# THE STATE OF JEYPORE,

## CHAPTER I.

### GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY OF JEYPORE AND SHEKHAWATTEE.

JEYPORE, including SHEKHAWATTEE, lies between N. Lat. 25°40′ and 27°40′ and between E. Long. 75°8′ and 77°20′. It is bounded in the North by BEEKANEER, the British district of HISSAR and PUTTEEALAH; on the East, by ULWAR and BHURTPOOR; on the South, by KEROWLEE, GWALIOR, BOONDEE, TONK, MEYWAR and AJMEER; and on the West, by KISHENGURH, MARWAR and BEEKANEER. It is about 150 miles in length, and 140 in breadth, with an area of about 14,500 square miles.

The aspect of the country is very diversified. The centre is an elevated table land, from 1,400 to 1,600 feet above the level of the sea. The highest part of this Table Land intersects the country from S. W. to N. E. from near the Sambhur Lake, where the main Arabukee range loses its character of an unbroken chain of hills, to Tourawuttee and Khetree hills, which rise abrupt and bold, out of the sandy plain, at their feet, sometimes, as at Pouk, attaining height of 2,000 feet above it. This elevated belt forms the watershed of the country, and is the natural border of the desert tracts of Shekhawattee, Beekaneer, &c., to the North West; dividing them from the fertile plains of Jeypore, to the south east. On the Jeypore side of the line, water is every where near the surface; but on the Shekhawattee side, the further we leave the range, the further the water recedes; and this, notwithstanding that the slope of the country is in the same direction, showing that the sand itself increases in depth the further to the north-west that we go. Wherever there is an opening in the intersecting line of hills, the sand is drifted through it in the hot season by the high winds, and buries here and there several square miles of country. The same effect is observable near the city of Jeypore itself, but from a different cause. Here three or four square miles of country are buried in consequence of a local range intercepting the drifts, which has caused an accumulation at their westward bases. They are curious miniature deserts of themselves, but though the hillocks of sand constantly shift about in them, on occasion of high winds, they do not seem to extend beyond certain limits.

Along the Ulwur border, smaller ranges of hills run North and South, at the extremity of one of which Jeypore is situated. These join the main intersecting range at Khetree, and where the two meet, a great geologi-

cal disturbance has taken place, the granite and quartz of the Arabukee bursting through and upheaving the sandstones and clay states of the other ranges, exposing the alum shales, and the rich veins of copper ores, cobalts and nickels, which they contain. The precipitous crown of the fort of Khetree is of sandstone, lifted up by granite, and other primitive rocks, of which the rest of the hill consists. This fort is 1,200 feet above the town at its base, and is about half a mile long, by a quarter of a mile in width. There is abundance of water at the top for a population of about 600 souls, and the sandstone crest varies from 30 feet to 400 feet in thickness. Its edge is every where perpendicular, though a good deal denuded in places.

The triangular portion of country bounded by the intersecting range, and the Jeypore range, and a base line running west from Jeypore, encloses an elevated *plateau* of the height already described, 1,500 to 1600 feet. From the base line of the triangle, the country slopes very gradually to the south-east, towards the Dayee and Bunass rivers, and is exceedingly rich and fertile. Only a few isolated hills appear above the plain, which has a firm retentive soil, capable of growing opium, sugarcane, &c., and is covered with flourishing villages, which are owned mostly by members of the numerous clan of Kungarot Rajpoots, one of the twelve Kotrees of the Cuchwahas.

The range of hills running North and South, which sinks into the plain at Jeypore, is composed of highly crystallized sandstone. It again appears about 40 miles south at Toda, and continues to Rajmahal on the Bunass river. The latter place has long been celebrated for the loveliness of its scenery. As the range approaches the river, it forks into two, one fork exhibiting a perpendicular wall, only a few feet thick, but 500 feet high, of light opal-grey glistering nucacceous rock, and the other a similar wall of rich rose-colored crystallized sandstone, the two being about three miles apart. The river, which advances in a large stream perpendicular to the direction of the ranges, has forced a narrow opening for itself through them. The abrupt wall of rock at each opening is cut to a great depth, by the boiling surging torrent, and has thus added the charm of deep dark pools and rushing rapids filled with mahseer, trout, and mullet, to the wild scenery of Rajmahal. The hills on either side of the stream are crowned with the remains of old forts with their zig-zag approaches meandering through the forest, which covers them, whilst the grand old palace of the ancient sovereigns of Rajmahal, in pretty fair preservation; notwithstanding the lapse of time, and the modern flourishing village, both nestling at the foot of the hills on the verge of the stream, give life and character to the whole.

Rajmahal is only 1,000 feet above the sea, Jeypore being 1,512 feet. To the east of a line joining the two places, the country is more sandy, though equally fruitful, as that to the west. The river Bunass takes a tortuous course through it, and after turning south from its previously generally northern course, falls into the Chambul at the south-western extremity of Kerowlee. As it approaches the Chumbul, its course passes through a wild and hilly country, where the forests are preserved, and cultivation interdicted to add to the difficulties of approach to the two much vaunted fortresses of Runtumbhore and Kundahar, both belonging to Jeypore, and both regarded as impregnable

by the ignorant populations in their neighbourhood. They are table-lands on hills with naturally scarped sides.

The Eastern portion of Jeypore has many ranges of low hills in it, and near the Kerowlee border, is much intersected with ravines. The hills are a continuation of the Ulwur ranges, and nearly all like them tend north and south. The tract of country enclosed by the bend of the Bunass can bear comparison with the most fertile portions of India. The soil is a rich alluvial loam; any number of tanks might be constructed in it for the purposes of irrigation, and the river Bunass is also capable, at no great cost, of being bunded and utilized.

The country to the extreme east, towards Hindown, is sandy, but fertile. The whole of these tracts grow much cotton and opium, and are well suited for tobacco and sugarcane. In former times, the latter crop must have been very extensively cultivated, judging from the number of old stone sugar mills, which the traveller meets at the entrance of every village, and which attest the ancient wealth and prosperity of this part of the country.

To the east of Jeypore, the country is low. From Jeypore to Agra, as the traveller enters the range of hills close to the City on the east, he commences at once to descend a rather steep incline, and as he emerges from them, he finds he has descended from three to four hundred feet in about two miles. Journeying on, he falls in with the Bangunga River, and following its course pretty closely, he enters with it the Bhurtpore territory, the elevation of which is only 700 feet above the sea. The soil of the country he has passed through he will have found generally a rich, firm loam, but in a few places loose and sandy.

The climate of Jeypore is highly salubrious. Being elevated and sandy, there are few places where water can lodge, so that malarious fevers are almost unknown. In the cold weather, the climate, especially in Shekhawalten, is bitterly cold, hoar frost frequently remaining on the ground in the shade till nearly mid-day. The hot winds in the north blow with great fury, but the sand does not retain the heat, so that the nights are pleasant, and the mornings very cool. Towards the southern and eastern portions of the country, the winds are not so boisterous or fiery; but neither are the nights or mornings so cool. The rains are generally plentiful throughout the territory, excepting Shekhawattee, where they are more precarious. The part to the south-east of the line intersecting Jeypore and Shekhawattee is seldom afflicted with the periodical famines which visit the neighbouring territories. Being on the verge of the influence of the south-western and south-eastern monsoons, it receives rain from both; and if one fails, the other is generally bountiful. The average annual fall at Jeypore itself may be stated at from 22 to 28 inches.

With regard to the agriculture of the country, there are no crops peculiar to Jeypore itself. In the south eastern portion, cotton, tobacco, opium, and sugarcane are grown, and large tracts are covered with barley, wheat, urhur, rape, til, linseed, and other oleaginous seeds, and with gram. It is impossible to give any estimate of the cultivated area, in comparison with the uncultivated, in a country where no data are available. Many tracts, moreover, are covered with cultivation in the rainy season, which the European eye has no chance of seeing.

It is now necessary to return to the north-western side of the intersecting range, or Shekhawattee. It has an area of about 4,000 square miles, and, as already observed, slopes towards the north-west. Near the eastern portion of it runs the Katuree river, which receives the waters drained from the lofty border range. It flows, during heavy rains only, with great impetuosity, and in a stream generally one or two miles broad. It tosses its sandy bed into huge waves, being most dangerous to cross, from the rapidity of its current, and the great number of its shifting quicksands. After a course through the length of Shekhawattee, looking as though it promised to swell into a mighty river, it gradually diminishes in volume, till it is entirely lost in the sands at Sankhoo, just as it enters the Beekaneer territory.

Shekhawattee is not an agricultural country. The land yields only one crop in the year, and even this sometime fails. The country is a mass of waving sand-hills covered with accacia, and the "Phog," a succulent plant without leaves, about three or four feet high, the flowers of which are eaten by the people, whilst the stalks afford excellent forage for camels, and the roots, swelling to an enormous size in the loose sand, make the best description of charcoal, and furnish an inexhaustible supply of fuel. The principal crops are jowar, bajra, moong, and moth, which replaces the gram of the firmer soils. The jowar and bajra are sown just before the first fall of rain, and the moong and moth in July and August. The sand hills are ploughed up after the accacia trees have been lopped, with very deep ploughs, in which camels are yoked, and the grain is put into the soil. As the camel walks comparatively fast, and two ploughings are sufficient, an extensive tract of country is thus speedily put under grain. The rest of the country is a luxuriant crop of rich grass. Should the season prove favorable, the produce is so large, that, with the wasteful habits of a rude population, much of the crop is left on the ground, to be grazed off by the cattle. Good seasons, however, are rare; light rains being insufficient to bring the crops forward, or to prevent the sand from flying, whilst by too heavy rain, the crops are liable to be buried by the subsidence or flow of the sand. Melons are extensively planted in the bed of the Khaturee river. Little wheat, or barley, is cultivated perhaps not more in each village than a single field near a well, for the sake of green food for the Thakoor's horses.

The wells are very, rare, and the water in them at too great a depth to admit of any extensive irrigation. The cost of digging a well is enormous, ranging from five to eight thousand rupees. It has to be sunk an enormous depth, and as the water, when reached, does not enter by springs, but by filtration through the sand, the body of the well, to be of any use, must be sufficiently large to act as a reservoir. In addition to this, there is a danger of coming upon a very loose stratum of sand, which continues to pour in like water, as it is being scooped out. When this occurs, the well has to be abandoned; and near towns and villages, one always sees a number of masonry cylinders above the ground, showing the abortive attempts made before a successful issue has been attained. When a well has been successfully finished, it is a source of great profit, as the cattle from many neighbouring villages will pay for the water at so much a head per month. In dry seasons, the cattle are kept in the neighbourhood, and the value of the

village grazing lands is also thereby enhanced. It follows, of course, from what has been said, that horned cattle are not numerous in Shekhawattee.

The effect of the small number of wells is to cause a congregation of the population in their neighbourhood, so that the character of the population consists in residing in towns or large villages at long distances apart. Where a bed of "kunkur" has been come upon, a handsome town has been formed. The "kunkur" in Shekhawattee is not found in nodules, but in beds of stiff snowy white clay, highly retentive of moisture. From these beds clean squares are cut out, like ashlar masonry blocks, and allowed to dry. The same clay is burnt for the cement, and the result is a durable and snowy white wall, which, in that clear dry climate, retains its colour unchanged for years. Many of these walls are gaudily painted on the outside, but some very tastefully so, and these paintings also appear to last for an indefinite period.

The imposing aspect of the mansions in the towns, notwithstanding the gaudy character of the decorations, sensibly strikes a stranger, who little expects to meet such handsome cities immediately adjoining the sandy desert. They owe their prosperity to British rule, being the homes of the Marwaree merchants, who have accumulated their wealth by trade through their gomashtahs or agents at the Presidency Towns of Bombay and Calcutta. This they spend in their desert homes in profuse, but rude and ill-directed display. The towns have been regularly laid out, with straight, broad streets crossing one another at right angles. As the larger edifices are built, the minor traders and poorer inhabitants retire into the suburbs. Thus every large town has the central portion handsome and imposing, and the suburbs mean, and composed principally of grass hovels. The principal towns in Shekhawattee are Ramgurh, which has doubled itself in the last 50 years, and contains about 50 of the wealthiest Marwaree bankers in India. Its population is about 20,000. Luchmungurh, population 15,000; Seekur, 15,000; Futteehpore, 50,000; Bissao, 20,000; Mandawa, 10,000; Newulgurh 10,000; Jhoonjnoo, the capital of Shekhawattee, and held jointly by all the principal chiefs and the head of the Native Government, has about 20,000 inhabitants. These numbers appear large, but it should be recollected that four-fifths of the population is congregated in these large towns, which are generally about 20 miles apart, and between them will scarcely be found a hamlet deserving the name of village.

The houses in the hamlets and villages form a strange contrast to the wealthy appearance of the towns. They are circular structures of grass on a few sticks, surrounded with lofty hedges of dried thorns, used as pens for cattle and sheep, to which fresh additions are being constantly added, partly to bind the whole together and prevent its being blown bodily away, and partly to screen the eyes of men and animals from the fine particles of drifting sand.

In many parts of the Jeypore territory the water is brackish. There are several natural lakes which owe their saltness to the soil, but in none of them is the amount of salt in suspension sufficiently great to make the collecting of it a source of profit, with the exception of the Sambhur Lake, where the manufacture of salt is carried on on a

large scale for the supply of the North Western Provinces and Bundlecund, which almost entirely depend upon it.

The Sambhur Lake is situated on the borders of Jeypore and Marwar. In the rainy season it is about 24 miles long by eight miles broad; and so shallow, that a man can wade across it nearly every where. The deepest part of the Lake is towards its south-eastern corner, near, the town of Sambhur, opposite to which, at the hottest season, the lake contracts to a thick, black, muddy pool, about two miles long and one mile broad.

The Lake, with the town of Sambhur and some 60 villages attached, was owned formerly by the States of Jeypore and Marwar in equal shares. First one State, and then the other, taking advantage of any temporary weakness in its neighbour, appropriated the outlying villages, till only twelve, besides Sambhur, remained in joint possession. Of the villages appropriated, Marwar took possession of Nowah and Goodah on the borders of the Lake itself, and opened marts in them for thesale of salt. The amount manufactured at these places must be, however, limited, from the decided tendency of the Lake to flow, as it evaporates, towards its deepest part at Sambhur, which is not a little assisted by the north-west winds. To prevent this flow as much as possible, a barrier of stakes and fascines is thrown by the Marwar authorities across the Lake every year, opposite to Nowah, which partially contracts this and allows the manufacture of salt.

The salt is collected in beds. A place where the water is about a foot and a half deep is chosen, and an embankment, high enough to let the miry sand solidify into a firm rampart, is thrown round a square of about three hundred yards either side, which is further protected with walls of strong 4-inch thick stakes, and interlacing hurdles to protect the embankment from the waves and wind, which might destroy it, and would interfere with the crystallization. The interior of the enclosure is again sub-divided into beds, about 20 feet long and 10 broad, but with their embankments a little lower and smaller than the main embankment. Twigs of the feathery "furas" tree are thrown into the beds, and as the water evaporates, the salt is deposited on them in beautiful crystals. The twigs are then cleared; a further supply of water from the lake is filled into the beds, for a repetition of the process, so long as the season permits. The enclosures and beds last about three years, when they require renewal. At Sambhur there are about 16 enclosures for making salt. Impure salt, which effloresces on the ground, is also collected, but it is not valuable.

The amount of salt produced at Sambhur is about 900,000 maunds, or 34,000 tons, yearly. It is a curious question whence this salt is produced, which can allow so large a yearly abstraction. No salt rivers flow into the lake, and the wells in the immediate neighbourhood of the lake, both at Nowah on the northern shore, and at Sambhur, on the south-eastern corner, are perfectly sweet. Nor are there any hills in the neighbourhood containing rock salt. It must be formed in the small portion of the Lake itself, which does not dry either from salt springs, or from a bed of rock salt, which is bare at that particular spot, and approaches the surface at no other. No one has examined this pool, in consequence of the treacherous nature of the soil, which is decomposed by

the salt into a black quagmire, ready to engluph any person who approaches its margin.

The salt is calculated by borahs, each borah weighing 37 maunds, British. The yearly produce is about 24,000 borahs, or 888,000 maunds, in all. Its price on the spot is Rs. 16 a borah, or a little less than 8 annas a maund, yielding, therefore, some four lakhs of rupees a year. What is extracted at Nowah and Goodah is independent of this.

Besides salt, Jeypore possesses rich mines of copper ore towards Khetree, as well as of alum, iron, and cobalt. The copper ore is rich, but all the operations for its extraction and smelting of the rudest and most primitive description. The mines themselves are mere burrows in the hills, following the richest portions of the viens, and without any regard to communication. As the richest ores are below the water level in the mines, the greatest difficulty is experienced in baling out the water by hand, for no other means are employed. In one mine, which descends about 300 feet, at an inclination of 60° into the hill, some 70 people are required for this purpose alone. The consequence is, that many of the best mines have been abandoned, and the miners, being thriftless and poor, frequently confine themselves to digging out stuff, which has been previously neglected. It is not possible to say accurately what the percentage of copper in any mine is. The best now extracted contains about 12 per cent., but the average yield is not above 9 per cent. The miners assert that whenever a mine is cleared and baled out, the yield of the lower veins is as much as 20 to 25 per cent.

The ore is first separated from the rocks with which it is found; and after being very finely pounded, is roasted in a cowdung fire. It is then smelted in a circular furnace, about two feet high and a foot in diameter, built up with pieces of slag and clay. Three bellows, worked by hand, play upon the ore, and the operation of smelting is completed in about 12 hours. The ore is in a cake at the bottom of the furnace, which is knocked down each day, and rebuilt again for the succeeding blast. The refining of the ore is done in much the same manner, excepting that the air plays more directly on the surface of the metal. After this the metal is run into bars, and taken to the mint.

The water in many of the mines is rich in sulphate of copper and alum, from the alum shale, which superlies the rock, in which the copper ore is found. The whole is boiled down, and the copper sulphate separates, crystallized in a cake, which is refined by another boiling. The alum which remains in solution is precipitated by nitrate of potash.

In the Bagor Hill, near Khetree, and overlooking the Khetree Fort, cobalt is found in thin layers between the veins of copper ore. It is exported as it comes from the hill, and is employed extensively in enamelling, being exported for that purpose to Delhi and Hydrabad in the Deccan, as well as sent to Jeypore. Copper ore is also found at Singhana, about eight miles from Khetree, and in the same low range of hills, which connect the two places.

In the limestone ranges near Jeypore, on the Ulwur border, a coarse white marble is quarried, much used for ornamental building purposes. The finest marble employed in the richest work, in the Taj at Agra, the Motee Musjid, &c., is the produce of Mukrana in Marwar,

about 20 miles west of the Sambhur Lake, whence it is brought to Jeypore to be sculptured. The Mukrana stone is unaffected by the atmosphere, and has a finer grain than the marble from the Jeypore quarries, which becomes yellow, by exposure, in course of time. A coarse black marble has lately been found in the southern part of Kot Pootlee, a pergunnah of Khetree, which is now becoming extensively worked.

In the neighbourhood of Rajmahal, large quantities of carbuncles are dug up, but they are dark in color, and wanting in brilliancy. Turquoises are also said to have been found in large numbers at the northern extremity of the range, at Todah, near Tonk; but only the tradition remains; of the spot whence they were extracted nothing is known.

Any estimate of the population of the Jeypore territory can only be very roughly made. By Tod, the population of Shekhawattee is estimated at 80 inhabitants to the square mile, and, considering the size of the towns, this is not very excessive. If we take a large town of say 20,000 inhabitants at every 20 miles over the surface, it would give a population of 50 to the square mile, excluding the villages and hamlets; and as there are tracts without towns of that size, the latter calculation of 50 to the square mile would be safer for Shekhawattee, or a total of 250,000 inhabitants. If the rest of the territory were put down at 150 to the square mile (a very moderate estimate), we should have a population of 1,500,000 for the rest of the country; or $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions for the whole.

The population of the towns in Shekhawattee has already been alluded to, but that of the capital, Jeypore, should not be passed ower, as an elaborate census of it was taken between 1858 and 1861; in which every house was enumerated, the names of the owners, their trades, their families, male and female, servants, &c. The city was found to contain nearly 40,000 houses within the walls. In about 1,000 cases, however, of the houses of Thakoors, priests, &c., no returns were furnished. The census did not include the suburbs, which may be taken at about 10,000 more, which would give about 50,000 houses, or a population of 200,000 for the city itself and suburbs. The town is laid out on a regular plan, the main streets intersecting at right angles and being 110 feet broad. The secondary streets interseeting the blocks, made by the great streets, are 55 feet broad, and the minor ones $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There are six great blocks in two rows of three each, one of which, the centre of the second row, is given up to the palace, and behind this again are the lakes. At the end of each of the main streets are the gates, six in number, handsome, lofty masonry structures, exactly similar to one another. The walls round the city are lofty, of masonry and crenellated, but without ramparts, and not intended for guns, or to resist artillery, the real defence against an invading force being the detached forts and the hill forts which surround the place. In the main streets, the shops are all similar, being of white pucka masonry with colonnaded verandahs, and the whole city bears the impress of the genuis of the soveriegn who founded it.

The population in the settled part of Jeypore does not differ from that of the rest of Rajpootana; but there are peculiarities in Shekhawattee, which are deserving of notice. The whole of this district is owned by Rajpoot Thakoors, the descendants of Shekhjee, the grandson of

Oodey Kurrun, the 12th Maha Rajah of Jeypore, who conquered Shekhawattee from the "Khaem Khanees," Mussulmen descendants of apostatized Chohan Rajpoots, to whom the country formerly belonged, but who were allowed to hold their estates by the Emperors of Delhi as the reward of their apostacy. The Shekhawats eventually coalesced with them, so far as to give in to many of the Mussulmen prejudices. The shrines of Mahomedan saints are equally reverenced as those of Hindoo divinities, the Mahomedan confession of faith is said at the birth of their children, and wild hog's flesh, which the Rajpoot elsewhere loves so much, is forsworn in Shekhawatee. The ownership of the land resting with the Shekhawut, the Khaem Khanees get their subsistence, either by plunder, or by seeking for service abroad as cavalry soldiers, and they have always proved themselves brave and faithful, and free from all prejudice. Large numbers are in our service, not only in the Bengal Irregular Cavalry, but also in the Bombay corps, and the Nizam's contingent, whilst some 5,000 are said to have been retained for the Nizam himself by Salar Jung. One of the most pleasing reminiscences of a visit to a Khaem Khanee village in Shekhawattee, is the number of old Irregular Cavalry troopers of all ranks wearing their medals, who greet one. There is not a recruiting ground for Cavalry in India at all equal to Shekhawattee.

Since the time of Shekhjee, the Shekhawats have increased vastly in numbers. To break their strength, the Jeypore Government, about a century ago, took advantage of some dispute amongst them, to introduce the custom of an equal division of real estate amongst the male children, on the death of a parent. Seekur and Khetree are the only estates which have escaped this ruinous sub-division, the first by the destruction of the minor branches, who sought to enforce partition; and the latter by the want of issue, beyond a single son in each reign. The extraordinary way in which sub-division has been carried out has still further complicated matters, each village, each field, and each homestead being parcelled out. At Sooltana, a large village between Singhana and Jhoonjnoo, though one man is called "Thakoor," he is only the holder of the part of the estate properly belonging to his position.

Another race in Shekhawattee, especially numerous in Khetree and the North Eastern corner of the territory, is the Meena. The influence of the Meenas at Jeypore, who guard the citadel and treasury, has already been alluded to; but their ramifications extend throughout the country. They are inferior in courage and daring to the Meenas of the Khirar, in Boondee, and Meywar; but surpass them in cunning and organization for distant plundering expeditions. Filled as Shekhawattee is with poor Rajpoots and Khaem Khanees, who can seldom eke out a subsistence from the barren soil, it has no want of leaders to arrange and head a foray. Meena scouts are sent to all the principal centres of trade, who transmit notice of the despatch of the invoices of merchandize. A Rajpoot or Khaem Khanee generally leads the raid, and, according to the plan concerted, the rendezvous is fixed as near as possible to the time and place where the robbery is to be committed. The merchants keep also Meenas in pay, to inform them of such expeditions, and write to their correspondents to delay or hasten the despatch of the goods. A constant game of this kind is being played between the merchants and the plunderers, which throws a species of black mail

into the hands of the more influential Rajpoots and Khaem Khanees for the safe transit of the goods, and as of course the competition is great, the tax levied on the merchant is slight, in comparison to what he would have to pay as customs when travelling an equal distance through a native State. The generality of highway robberies takes place when arrangments of this kind have not been made. In Khetree, where Shekhawats and Khaem Khanees do not exist, the Meenas arrange their own plundering expeditions with the Meenas of Ulwur and Shahjehanpore in the British district, and proceed to long distances, their chief plundering grounds being the roads between Indore and Bombay, and Hydrabad in the Deccan, where they waylay caravans of opium, cloth, and bullion.

The judicial courts of Jeypore are not separated from the Civil, but no sentence, beyond short terms of imprisonment, is passed without a review of the proceedings by the Maha Rajah and his Council. For the city, a City Magistrate is appointed, who has control over the inferior judicial courts, and the Police and Meena guards in the city and suburbs only; the district Police being under a Superintendent, with 17 zillahdars, one to each zillah or district. Each zillahdar is supplied with a contingent of horse and foot soldiers, and resident in the district of the Police of which he has charge. With respect to cases in Thakoor's villages, he is accompanied by one of the Thakoor's principal men to enforce his orders. He apprehends criminals only who are forwarded for trial to Jeypore.

The revenue of Jeypore may be stated at from 35 to 38 lakhs of rupees per annum. During the period of the management of the territory by British officers, whilst the Maha Rajah was a minor, the revenue was about three or four lakhs less. The land revenue, the criterion of the prosperity of the country, has largely increased, but so much depends on the temporary grants of estates to ranees and dependants, that implicit reliance is not to be placed on returns, without alienations and resumptions being also taken into consideration. The grant of Kote Kassim by the British Government to Jeypore, on account of services rendered by the State during the mutinies, added ½ lakh to the land revenue, and during the year 1860, no less than a lakh yearly fell in from the death of the Queen mother. On the other hand, wives have had to be provided with estates, and dependants rewarded; but during the tenure of the office of minister by the late Pundit Sheodeen, there is no doubt that his good management increased the land revenue considerably, giving confidence to the ryots by granting them longer leases, and abolishing the yearly farming system, to which they were previously subjected.

In stating 35 to 38 lakhs as the revenue of Jeypore, it should be remarked that this is the "khalsa," or "crown" revenue alone. Some of the richest parts of the territory are held by chiefs, or have been given in grants for service, endowment of temples, Brahmins, &c. The estates not crown property, are.—

1*st.*—*Tributary.* Being estates (not included in religious grants) received from the Sovereign by those who perform no service, but who pay only quit-rent. The extensive clan of Rajawut, being branches of the Maharajah's own family, are in this number.

2*nd.*—*Allodial.* Estates conquered by the ancestors of the owner, or possessed by them anterior to the conquest of the country by the reigning family, or not granted by the State, or who have voluntarily sought the protection of Jeypore. This class includes the Shekhawuts generally, with Seekur (4 lakhs) Khetree (2½ lakhs) Ooniara (1½ lakhs), &c.

These two classes hold estates yielding 15 lakhs yearly; and, as will be seen by the table of revenue, pay to the State Rs. 3,50,000 yearly.

3*rd.*—*Jagheerdars,* performing service only for their fiefs, but paying no rent. The value of their estates is set down by themselves at Rs. 28,00,000, which, however, is said to be much underestimated.

4*th.*—*Enams and Religious Grants.*—This class is very large, in consequence of the reputed sanctity of the City of Jeypore, and the large gifts made at various times to the temples, as well as to Civil and Military Officers, Court favorites, &c. These grants amount to about Rs. 28,00,000, the estimate under this head being, however, less trustworthy than the others, which are more readily calculated.

The total income of the country may be therefore stated as follows:—

| | Rupees. |
|---|---|
| Crown Revenue, say ... ... ... ... | 36,00,000 |
| Tributaries and Allods ... ... ... ... | 15,00,000 |
| Jagheerdars ... ... ... ... ... | 28,00,000 |
| Military, religious, and other grants ... ... | 28,00,000 |
| TOTAL Rs. ... ... | 1,07,00,000 |

or a little more than a million sterling. A reference to the tables of revenue will show considerable sums under the head of Police. These include fines for robberies and the sale of articles recovered from theives and unclaimed. Succession duty consists of nuzzurs and fines paid on succession to estates and property, and is in accordance with native feeling. At Jeypore it should be called more properly "Legacy" duty, very little being taken when a son succeeds his father, but about 8 per cent. when a distant relative is adopted. It is presented as nuzzur, and taken in recognition of right of inheritance, the amount being settled by previous understanding.

The expenditure may be put down at 35 lakhs of rupees, and is not subject to any great variation; the most gratifying item of the whole being the large sum devoted to roads and improvements, as well as on education. The personal expenses of the Maharajah are very small, as he is exceedingly frugal, and has few wants.

The expenses in education are confined chiefly to the maintenance of the Maharajah's school, originally established by Major (now Major General) J. Ludlow, to whom Jeypore owes so much. Two branch schools are attached to it. It is divided into English, Oordoo, Hindee and Persian Departments, and for its support, villages yielding Rs. 8,000 a year have been assigned. The number of scholars is about 500, of whom about one-fourth learn English.

In addition to the College, Jeypore contains 113 self-supporting schools, educating 2,680 boys. The largest school has 50 boys in it, the charge for whom is only 10 annas a month each, and this appears to be the highest charge. A medical school was also established at Jeypore, which has been lately abolished. Through the exertions of the medical officer in charge of the duties at the agency, instruction was given to the city midwives, and the Maharajah supported the institution liberally. Its success has been very great, as several women have passed out of it well instructed in the obstetric art.

The Army of Jeypore is not large, considering the large extent of country to be guarded, and that it has to perform all the Police duties at the same time. It consists of 10 Regiments of Foot, each 600 strong; and 4,000 Nagas, men ill armed and without discipline; besides a small body of 700 Cavalry, divided into 7 Rissalahs, and 4,250 Jagheerdar horse. There are besides 1,500 men employed in guarding the several forts within the territory. The Regiments of Infantry are composed of the same classes as filled the late Bengal Army. The men are badly appointed, and neither the old or unfit men are weeded out of them.

The Nagas are a body of religious mendicants, who are trustworthy and true to the State. They receive the small pay of Rs. 2 a man per month, and Re. 1 for each child, averaging Rs. 3 per fighting man. In the roll, children are counted as well as adults. They are armed with matchlocks, and will not undergo any discipline. During the mutinies, they were the only body of men really true to the State, and but for them, the so-called Regulars and Artillery would have rebelled. They are a useful and inexpensive body, and not dangerous.

The Jagheerdar Horse are supplied by the Thakoors, according to the terms on which they hold their estates. The quotas they supply are based on continuous service for the whole year, with one horse per Rs. 1,000 of rent. Many of the estates are much more valuable now than they were when the holders first received them; whilst a few have deteriorated, so that the latter service seems to be performed by one horseman for every Rs. 500 of rent. Allowance must be made for the natural disinclination of the Thakoors to state the true value of their properties; but taking the estimate as correct, it would represent the average rent for which service is performed, as about one horseman for every Rs. 700 of rent.

The administration of Jeypore errs on the side of mildness and the absence of vigor. The population of the city, and the administration of the country, seeks only ease and to avoid anything that is likely to give trouble. All are bound on pleasure and amusement. Corruption and peculation are rife, for there is great temptation, and at the same time an absence of all dread of heavy punishment. There is no want of power to exhibit vigor on occasion, but there is a want of inclination to do anything harsh or arbitrary. There is much procrastination in the transaction of public business, but there is a desire to administer justice; and, taking all things into consideration, the Jeypore State, in enlightenment and public spirit, is far in advance of the other principal States of Rajpootana.

## CHAPTER II.

### GENEALOGICAL HISTORY OF THE MAHARAJAHS OF JEYPORE.

The reigning family of Jeypore is of the Cuchwaha tribe of Rajpoots, one of the thirty-six Royal races of India. The Cuchwahas claim descent from Cush, the second son of Rama, King of Kashula, whose capital was Ajoodhya (the modern Fyzabad), in Oude. Cush migrated first to Rohtas, on the Soane River, and after the lapse of several generations, his descendants, in A.D. 295, established themselves at *Nurwur*, in Central India. The family appears to have remained at Nurwur for thirty-three generations, till DHOLA RAE, the son of Sora, founded the present State of Jeypore, or Amber, in A.D. 967.

At that period, the country south of the site of the present city of Jeypore, and called DHOONDAR, was occupied either by petty Rajpoot sovereignties, or by large and comparatively powerful communities of Meenas, who appear to have been of sufficient importance to have had their own separate kings, holding their own courts. All these petty principalities, however, whether Rajpoot or Meena, acknowledged the supremacy of the kings of Delhi, where the Hindoo kings of the Tuar race then ruled. Dhola Rae was driven from Nurwur when an infant, and hospitably sheltered by the Meena King of Khogong, whom he afterwards treacherously slew, and whose kingdom he usurped; another of the many instances of how, in ancient times, the way to sovereignty was paved by barbarity and ingratitude. Dhola Rae married the daughter of the neighbouring Rajpoot Chief of Deosa (40 miles east of Jeypore) and he also obtained possession of that district, as well as of the neighbouring one of Ramgurh, and thus laid the foundations of a considerable State. He was eventually killed in a fight with the Meenas.

KANKUL, a posthumous son of Dhola Rae, succeeded him. Kankul conquered the southern portion of the territory, and in A.D. 1037, either he, or his son Maidul Rao (who, however, did not ascend the throne, as stated in Tod's Rajathan) seized Amber in the hills, about six miles north of the present capital of Jeypore, from the Soosawut Meenas, after a long and protracted struggle. The king of the Soosawut Meenas was also the head of the Meenas confederation, and the seat of power was consequently transferred to Amber, which now became the capital of the country, and gave the name to the State. The Meenas were constrained to submit to a power which held their capital in its hands, but, with the view of conciliating them, and preventing any further rebellions by this wild, and at that time powerful, race, Kankul made them extraordinary concessions. Twelve villages in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital were granted to them. They only were to guard the royal treasury and the citadel, whilst the chowkeydaree of the city was entrusted to them, and they were permitted to levy small cesses upon articles and laden cattle passing in and out of the gates. All these concessions are enjoyed by the Soosawut Meenas to this day.

Kankul's successors, HUNOOJEE and JANURDEOJEE (and not Kontul as mentioned by Tod) still further consolidated the sovereignty so

acquired, and brought the Meenas throughout the whole territory of Amber into complete subjection.

PUJOON, the next Chief, was of sufficient importance to obtain in marriage the sister of Pirthee Raj, the Chohan Emperor of Delhi. He commanded one of the divisions of Pirthee Raj's Army, with which he defeated Sahiboodeen in the Khyber Pass, and pursued him towards Ghuznee. He also conquered Mahobah in Bundelcund, of which he was appointed Governor.

From Pujoon, the seventh in descent is OODEYKURRUN, whose son Baloojee, leaving his father's house, obtained the town and district of AMRITSUR. Oodeykurrun's grandson, *Shekhjee*, was the founder of the Shekhawut communities, which now cover so large a surface of the Jeypore Territory, and among his descendants are comprised the Ulwur and Ooniara families, as well as those of Seekur, Khetree, and Bissao.

The next sovereign deserving of notice is PIRTHEE RAJ, the fifth in descent from Oodeykurrun. He had no less than seventeen sons, twelve of whom arrived at manhood. He provided estates out of his territories for each of them, and thus gave rise to the traditional saying of the twelve kotrees of the Cuchwahas, though now the number of kotrees is greater than twelve. Some estates held by the descendants of former sovereigns have been advanced, the rank of kotrees whilst in a few instances original kotrees themselves have become extinct.

BAHAR MULL was the successor of Pirthee Raj. Tod supposes that Bheem succeeded Pirthee Raj, and that Bheem was succeeded by his son Aiskurrun, a parricide. Bheem, however, was not the eldest son of Pirthee Raj, but the holder of one of the kotrees, and his son Aiskurrun, having been adopted to the guddee of Nurwur, the kotree became extinct. Bahar Mull paid homage to the Mahomedan power, and received from the European Humayoon the munsub of 5,000, as Rajah of Amber. His son and successor, BHUGWUNTDASS, was the friend of the Emperor Akber, and the first Rajpoot Sovereign who allied himself by marriage with the Mahomedan power. His daughter was espoused by Jehangeer, and the fruit of the marriage was the unfortunate Khoosroo.

MAUN SINGH, the nephew and successor of Bhugwuntdass, was one of the most brilliant characters in the Military History of India. He conquered for the Emperor the whole of Orissa, and was invested consecutively with the Governments of Bengal, Behar, and the Deccan. He made Assam tributary to the Empire, and as Viceroy of Cabul, maintained tranquillity there.

JUGGUT SINGH (Tod says Rao Bhao Singh and another son of Maun Singh) succeeded his father, and after him, his son MAHA SINGH. Jhoojhar Singh, another son of Juggut Singh received Jhellye, Eesurdah, &c. Maha Singh was followed on the throne by another celebrated military character, MIRZA RAJAH JEY SINGH, commonly called by his imperial title of "*Mirza Rajah*," who received the munsub of 6,000, and performed great services for the empire; but, becoming too powerful for a subject, was made away with by the Emperor, through the hands of Kcerut Singh, who had been promised by the Emperor his support to supplant his elder brother on the throne. The feeling of the country,

however, was too strong against the parricide, to allow such a measure to be carried out, and Keerut Singh was obliged to content himself with Kamah, now in the Bhurtpoor Territory, and which his descendants enjoy to this day; but the parricidal act of their ancestor has ever excluded them from any chance of succeding to the Jeypore throne.

RAM SINGH, KISHEN SINGH, and BISHEN SINGH successively followed, and then came the celebrated JEY SINGH II., A.D. 1699, commonly called SOWAE JEY SINGH, a title given by the Emperors of Delhi, and which his descendants adopt to this day. The word means "one and a quarter," and is expressive of the great superiority of the bearer to all his contemporaries.

It would take too much space to enter into even a brief account of the deeds of this truly illustrious prince, in a sketch intended to show merely the genealogy of the family. As the founder in A.D. 1728, of the city of Jeypore, to which place he transferred the seat of government from Amber, his name would have been handed down to posterity, but he was equally remarkable for his intellectual capacity, and for his liberal patronage of science and art, as for his engineering and architectural skill. He was a highly skilled mathematician, and a pains-taking and accurate astronomical observer. The Observatory of Jeypore, constructed after his own plans and designs, and those he erected at Delhi, Oojein, and Benares, for contemporaneous observations, exhibit a wonderful amount of skill, and an advanced knowledge. With these he was enabled to correct the tables of "De la Hire," and to leave, as a lasting monument of his abilities and industry, the astronomical tables of the stars, collected by himself, and called the "Teej Mahomedshahi."

The account of the succession of the next princes, EESUREE SINGH and MADHO SINGH, exhibits an attempt to set aside the rights of primogeniture, which brought great disasters both on Jeypore and Oodeypore. The Jeypore and Jodhpore Courts had renewed with Oodeypore the tri-partite treaty for common defence against the Mahomedan power. To obtain the privilege of re-marrying with the Oodeypore family, which they had forfeited by giving daughters to the emperors, the Maharajahs of Jeypore and Jodhpore agreed, on occasion of such alliances between them and Oodeypore, that the issue by the Oodeypore Princess was to succeed to the thrones of their States, to the prejudice of any elder sons born by other wives. Rajah Jey Sing, to consolidate the agreement, had received in marriage a daughter of the Oodeypore Sovereign, his eldest son Eesuree Singh having already reached man's estate. To counteract, however, the evil effects of the injustice that the birth of a son by the Oodeypore Princess might occasion to Eesuree Singh, he caused the latter at the same time to marry a daughter of the Suloombur Chief, the principal noble of Oodeypore, and the leader of its forces. Madho Singh was the offspring of Jey Singh by the Oodeypore Princess. On Jey Singh's death, *Eesuree Singh* succeeded to the throne, but the Maha Ranah of Oodeypore supported the pretensions of his nephew, *Madho Singh*. The Oodeypore army, under its hereditary leader, the Rao of Suloombur (whose interests, by the marriage of his daughter with Eesuree Singh, were directly opposed to those of his sovereign) marched with a force under Scindiah, to the attack of Jeypore. The Meywar army purposely fled, and both it and Scindiah suffered a defeat. The

Maha Ranah, highly indignant at the turn affairs had taken by the conduct of his nobles, broke from them and entertained the troops of Holkar, at an enormous sacrifice of money and land, with the view of deposing Eesuree Singh. That weak and debauched prince was vanquished by Holkar, and to save himself from further disgrace, voluntarily took poison. He was succeeded by Madho Singh, who, after this, reigned 17 years.

PIRTHEE SINGH II, a minor, succeeded Madho Singh. The guardianship was entrusted to the mother of his younger brother, Pertab. She was a very depraved character; so much so, that the chiefs absented themselves from Court, and retired to their estates. Pirthee Singh died before Pertab was nine years of age, under suspicion of having been poisoned by the Queen Regent, with the view of obtaining the throne for her son Pertab. Pirthee Singh left a son, Maun Singh, who, to save his life, was removed secretly, and sent to Gwalior, at which Court he passed his life. As opportunities to succession to Jeypore offered themselves on two or three subsequent occasions, Maun Singh was passed over, in consequence of his want of intellect and debased character.

PERTAB SINGH was placed on the throne by the queen's mother, and her ministers. During his minority, Machery, (Ulwur) secured its independance, and Jeypore became impoverished, from the constant demands of the Mahrattas, who then overawed the country, and the payments to whom diminished the reserves in the treasury.

JUGGUT SINGH succeeded Pertab Singh in A.D. 1803. This prince's life is a mere narrative of debauchery, and libertinism. He died, regretted by none, in A. D. 1818. He left no children, and as it was necessary that an adoption should at once be made, and there was no one so nearly connected, as to ensure an undisputed succession, an intrigue was got up, for placing on the throne, Mohun Singh, the Ex-Prince of Nurwur, who had been driven from his own principality by Scindiah. The plot was arranged by the head Nazir or eunuch, a man of much influence in most Rajpoot Courts, but it was opposed by the principal queens and most of the chiefs. The boy Mohun Singh, a descendant of Aiskurrun, the son of Bheem, one of the twelve sons of Pirthee Raj was of a distant branch of the family, and his adoption would have been opposed to the usages of the country, and to the rights of Jhellye and other nearer branches of the family. These consequently commenced arming to oust the pretender, when fortunately one of the queens (Bhutteeaneejee) declared her pregnancy, and it was proclaimed at the same time, that she had entered on her eighth month. A grand council of Ranees and Thakooranees from the principal families was held, who confirmed the fact, and when on the 25th April 1819, her full time was completed, a son was born, who succeeded, unopposed to the throne, while the Nurwur boy sank into obscurity.

JEY SINGH III, this son, survived only 17½ years, and died in A. D. 1835, leaving a son, the present Maharajah SEWAR RAM SINGH, who was born in A.D. 1833, and was only 17 months old at the time of his father's death. He has at present no offspring, nor has he adopted a successor.

The succession to the throne of Jeypore is vested in the families of the "Rajawuts." Though none are very nearly related to the present rule, who is the head of the clan, yet they are sufficiently numerous

to afford an extensive choice. The title of "Rajawut" is taken by all the descendants of Pirthee Raj in the direct line, in contradistinction to the descendants of his other sons, who became the heads of kotrees; though these also sometimes assume the name of "Rajawut." According to Rajpoot custom, the supercession of an elder branch by a junior, generally, though not invariably, excludes the descendants of the elder from inheritance, and a member of the elder cannot usually be adopted by one of the younger branches. An instance of this kind occurred among the successors of Pirthee Raj, which threw out the elder branches of the family. Bhugwunt Dass, the third in succession from Pirthee Raj, having during his lifetime, adopted Maun Singh, the son of his youngest brother Juggut Singh, to the prejudice of the rights of Juggut Singh's elder brothers, Soor Singh and Madho Singh, the claims of the latter and their descendants became as it were vitiated, by reason of their seniority to the reigning line. The descendants of Soor Singh and Madho Singh consequently form a separate fréreage to the descendants of Rajah Maun Singh, who, in addition, raised his own branch to greater consideration by his character and military exploits, which reflected on his posterity. His descendants (Maun Singhote) became therefore the presumptive heirs to the throne of Jeypore, and from the failure of later collaterals have continued so to this day.

From Rajah Maun Singh, to the present ruler, Maha Rajah Ram Singh, are fifteen generations, and the only collateral descendant's branch off either from Maun Singh himself or from his son Juggut Singh, with the sole exception of Keerut Singh, the founder of the Kamah branch, who killed his father, the Mirza Rajah Jey Singh, and whose descendants consequently are excluded from succession.

The claim for adoption to the throne of Jeypore by Hindoo Law, as interpreted in Rajasthan, would rest—in the first place, with the Jhellye family, the descendants of Juggut Singh, the son of Maun Singh; 2nd, with the collaterals of Maun Singh, consisting of Chundlae, Himmut Singhote, Dholeo and Paharle; and 3rd, with the descendants of Soor Singh, Madho Singh, and Abhey Raj, who from being senior would be very much more removed, whilst the descendants of the sons of Pirthee Raj would be still more distant.

## CHAPTER III.

### SKETCH OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF JEYPORE SINCE THE DATE OF THE TREATY WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

The Political History of Jeypore, since its connection with the British Government, is more interesting and instructive, than that of any other State in Rajpootana. The proximity of the State to our own possessions, our exaggerated ideas of its military power, and the minority of its ruler, which followed soon after the signature of the treaty, and which threw the reins of Government into the hands of the Queen mother, interested the British Government in its welfare, and caused it to become the field of experimental attempts at improvement in its internal administration, which eventually worked a full conviction in the minds of those who made them of the impolicy of well-intentioned, but ill-judged interference. To this cause should also be added (our ignorance,) at that early period of our operations, of the relations subsisting between the component parts of a Rajpoot State, which we supposed had progressed beyond the feudal epoch, and had verged, or required little at our hands to cause it to verge, towards a constitutional monarchy. In these early experiments, our relations with the Court were conducted by some of the ablest officers in India, such as Sir David Ochterlony, Lord Metcalfe, Sir John Low, and Sir George Clerk, whose subsequent careers have shed a lustre on the service to which they belonged. It was only the great abilities, the great discretion and judgment displayed by these eminent men, which prevented the failure from being more signally conspicuous. Foreseeing the probable issue of events, as they developed themselves, they averted by their skill and judicious efforts, the evils which might otherwise have resulted from too earnest a persistence in a wrong policy.

The first official connection of Jeypore with the British Government dates as far back as A.D. 1803, when a treaty was concluded with the State by Lord Lake. One of the early fruits of this treaty was the surrender to us of Vizier Ali, which, though stigmatized by a celebrated historian as casting a slur on the honor of Jeypore, was a proof of the fidelity of the State to its engagements, after such had been deliberately formed, and of its earnest desire to cultivate our alliance. Unhappily, both for our good name, and for the prosperity of Jeypore, the policy of that period little regarded the obligations of good faith, and the treaty was abolished in A. D. 1805, leaving the country a prey to the Mahrattas, who devastated it remorselessly, in revenge for its having contracted a British alliance. It was at this time that the Jeypore Agent at the Camp of Lord Lake observed, that this was the first time since the English Government had been established in India, that it had been known to make its faith subservient to its convenience.

When, therefore, subsequently the Marquis of Hastings desired to enter into those engagements, which were to bind the various Rajpoot States in a common compact with the British Government, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the Court of Jeypore held aloof for a time from a power, that had so unceremoniously discarded her a little before.

Her reserve, however, was finally overcome, and a treaty of ten articles was concluded on the 2nd April 1818, between Sir Charles Metcalfe on the part of the British Government, and Rawul Byree Saul, on that of the State of Jeypore.

The provisions of this treaty consist of assistance with troops, according to means; and acknowledgment of supremacy and subordinate co-operation on the part of Jeypore; besides the payment of tribute, which was to be raised gradually, in the sixth year of the alliance, to eight lakhs of rupees a year, until the revenues of the country should exceed forty lakhs of rupees, when five-sixteenths of the excess were to be paid, in addition to the above-mentioned eight lakhs. On the part of the British Government perpetual friendship and alliance, protection from foreign enemies, abstinence from internal interference, and a favorable consideration for the prosperity and advantage of the Jeypore State, were guaranteed.

At the time the treaty was concluded, Jeypore was under the rule of the weak and dissolute Juggut Singh, whose follies and debaucheries had sunk the country from the high position she had formerly held. Living entirely in his zenanah, among those who pandered to his profligacies, the chief influence in the State fell into the hands of his dissolute associates, and the eunuchs of the female apartments. At his death, therefore, which occurred on the 21st December A. D. 1818, soon after the treaty was concluded, power was grasped by Nazir Mohun Ram, the head eunuch of the palace, an able and ambitious man, who declared that Juggut Singh before his death had adopted Mohun Singh, the son of the ex-Rajah of Nurwur, of the original stock, from which, eight centuries previously, the Rajahs of Jeypore had sprung; and during whose minority he anticipated the enjoyment of the delights of Government.

Supported by the palace party, who had every thing to gain from the continuance of the power of the Nazir, the young Mohun Singh was placed on the throne; and the great vassals were called on to tender their allegiance. These, however, had mostly retired to their estates, with the exception of Megh Singh, the Thakoor of Diggee, the principal chief, though not the head, of the powerful clan of Kungarote, who had joined with the Nazir in his unprincipled schemes. They all sent evasive replies; and prepared to join the Thakoor of Jhellye, the nearest of kin to the deceased prince (with the exception of the excluded family of Kamah) in his claim to the throne.

As soon as Sir David Ochterlony became aware of the death of Juggut Singh, he sent his confidential moonshee to Jeypore, to watch the progress of events. The moonshee was easily persuaded to side with the Nazir, and the Resident, placing implicit reliance on his statements, recommended to Government the recognition of the Nurwur boy. A congratulatory letter was consequently sent by the Governor General, and the young Mohun Singh was formally seated on the throne, under the name of Maun Singh.

The Ranee, however, and particulary the Rahtore Ranee, the sister of the Sovereign of Marwar, were indignant at the disgrace about to be placed upon themselves, and the country, by the forced nomination of a child, under the tutelage of an eunuch. The great nobles were about to

raise the standard of rebellion, whilst the overbearing insolence of the Nazir's adherents estranged even the turbulent population of the city. At this juncture, one of the queens, the Bhutteeanjee Ranee of the late Juggut Singh, announced that she had entered into the eighth month of her pregnancy. The occurrence was hailed by all classes with joy, as it frustrated the wicked designs of the Nazir, and prevented the evils of civil war, and what the inhabitants of Jeypore then much dreaded, the chance of the British Government stepping in and appropriating the country, under the pretext of allaying strife. Many, however, still adhered to the Nazir, and many more were incredulous of the pregnancy of the Bhutteeanjee, the notification of which had been delayed so long. The great vassals consequently assembled, under the auspices of the Rawul Byree Saul, at the Palace in the hall of audience; and it was settled, that so important a matter, as the pregnancy, should be decided by a visit of the other widows of the late king, and of the wives of the principal Thakoors, to the pregnant Ranee, to ascertain the fact of the pregnancy, and its legitimacy; whilst all bound themselves to adhere to the decision come to. The deputation testified that the Ranee was pregnant; and all signed a paper, binding themselves to acknowledge the expected child as their sovereign, in case it proved to be a son.

On the 23rd April 1819, the boy, on whose existence so much depended, was ushered into the world; and Mohun Singh, notwithstanding the intrigues and protestations of the Nazir, was thrust into obscurity till his death, which occurred a few years afterwards. The Rawul, with Thakoor Bahadoor Singh of Jhellye, and Thakoor Kissen Singh of Choumoh, obtained the signatures of the Thakoors to a letter, addressed to the Resident, begging him to acknowledge, on the part of the British Government, the son of the Bhutteeanee Ranee, as the true heir to the Cuchwaha throne, and the legitimate offspring of Juggut Singh; with which request Sir David Ochterlony readily complied; and this acknowledgment by the paramount power, of the act of the principal chiefs and Ranees, at once calmed the country.

Sir David Ochterlony had heretofore conducted our relations with Jeypore, and appears to have resided at the capital, for many months together. As long as he was present, there was some check upon the irregularities, which broke out soon after his departure. Before the birth of the young Maharajah, the Rahtore Ranee had held the position of Pat Ranee or Chief Ranee; which by custom, she was now constrained to yield to the actual mother of the Rajah, who had reached the summit of her wishes, and gave loose to those vicious and debauched courses, which caused great dissatisfaction amongst all classes of the community, and were the origin of much discord and strife. The Rawul Byree Saul, the second Chief of the Nathawul Kotree, whose ancestors by their talents had raised themselves to be regarded the hereditary potails or advisers of the State, and who himself inherited the talents and capacity of his forefathers, had been appointed minister by the Queen mother, through the influence of the Resident. Though nominally head of the administration, he had little real power in his hands, and was obliged, with the object of maintaining his position, to consult the whims and fancies of the Queen mother. Towards the latter part of the year 1820, her disgraceful conduct caused an insurrection to break out in the city. Foujee

Ram, one of the officials, and her favorite, besides several others, were murdered inside the palace, and all Government was threatened by the prevailing anarchy.

The Governor General in Council considered, that "however desirous "we might be to avoid interference, yet to pre-

Secretary to Government, to Sir D. Ochterlony, dated 10th February 1821.

"serve the tranquillity of the city, and exposing to "imminent hazard, the salutary measures of the "British Government for the good of the young "Rajah, and the prosperity of the country; and to ascertain the real state "of parties at the durbar, it was advisable to depute an officer to reside "at the Court of Jeypore." Captain Stewart, Officiating Resident at Gwalior, was chosen for this duty. Before, however, entering into an account of the quarrels and dissensions which convulsed Jeypore, it will be advisable to say a few words, respecting one of the principal characters on the scene, whose pernicious influence for many years, worked so much ill to the State, and finally almost caused its destruction.

This individual was Jootha Ram who occupies so conspicuous, though discreditable, a position in the history of his country. He was a man of low extraction, and was the deputy of the late Foujee Ram, and amongst his other crimes he is supposed to have been chiefly instrumental to that individual's murder, with the view of rising to power in his place, in which he was but too successful. The Queen mother was entirely under his influence, and that of two female slaves. He was indeed her paramour, a fact which was subsequently clearly established by the correspondence, seized in his own house and that of his brother, at Agra. He was false, profligate, and unprincipled. He carried on his intrigues without fear or shame, and hesitated not at the most violent or most underhand means, to gain his ends. In league with him were the two slave girls, one of whom, Roopa Bundharin, especially shared with Jootha Ram the infamy by which they obtained their power. These slave girls held unlimited sway over the mind of the Ranee, some supposed in consequence of a mysterious secret, connected with the birth and changing of the young Maharajah; whilst others, with greater probability, ascribed it to the foul intrigue being then carried on between the Ranee and Jootha Ram.

Captain Stewart found the Regent Ranee much opposed to his mission, the Rawul having been sent by her to Delhi to obtain his countermand; whilst at the capital, people were placed at his gates, to prevent any one from visiting him. There appeared a design, on the part of the Court, to thwart the British representative; and any messages which the Political Agent received from the Regent Ranee, or sent to her, were communicated by Jootha Ram through a female slave, so that there was no security, that the real sentiments of either party were correctly conveyed; and as the Political Agent could not tell, whether the Ranee was there or not, he was perhaps speaking to a female slave, the words intended only for her.

The Bhutteeanee Ranee was regarded by all, as the absolute sovereign of the country. She was entirely under the influence of Jootha Ram. The Rawul, who desired to monopolize power, complained of the bad government of the country. He had been minister for two years; during which, the revenues of the country were said to have

decreased. Both parties were guilty of peculation, in which one appears to have been as bad as the other. All were equally corrupt, though the Rawul had the credit of being more moderate, than many would have been in his situation. The revenue at the time of Sewae Jey Singh had been more than a million sterling (but at that period Ulwur Bhurtpore, and Tonk were under Jeypore) whilst under the vigorous administration of Mohun Ram, Nazir, it amounted to thirty-four lakhs. It had, under the management of the Rawul, dwindled down to 2 lakhs only. The districts were all farmed out to favorites, and the dependants of those in power, for little more than half their actual value; and the leases of others were summarily, and without notice, reduced, so that there was no security in the stability of any of the arrangements entered into.

Unfortunately for the State, the clause of the treaty, fixing the tribute rendered it incumbent on the Political Agent, with the hope of guarding the interests of Government, to scrutinize into the accounts of the revenue, with the view of securing the five-sixteenths of all income exceeding forty lakhs of rupees. The Political Agent consequently recommended, that the authorities of the Native State, in concert with himself, should make a revenue settlement for three years; and that the British Government should guarantee to the farmers, the fulfilment of the terms of their leases. This course was approved by Government. The Governor General in Council considered that "the "protection we afforded to Jeypore was above "all price. If then, by the stipulations of "the treaty, we give our gratuitous assistance "for a service, because the resources of the "other contracting party were too impoverished to admit of their bear-"ing any part of the cost, we have an undoubted right to demand, that "the means, which it has thereby acquired of improving its revenue, "should be duly employed." After stating the motives which guide the policy of Government, the despatch continues—"After reviewing "with great attention the nature of our connection with Jeypore, and "the peculiar circumstances of the Rajah's minority, His Excellency the "Governor General has determined to authorize the requisite degree "of interference in the internal administration of that Government, "so strongly and ably urged in your despatches, and those of Captain "Stewart. It is of course to be exercised with that discretion, delicacy, "and address, which His Lordship in Council is fully persuaded, will be "felt due to the cause."

From Secretary to Government, Sir D.Ochterlony, dated 30th June 1821.

The embarrassments certain to result from this vexatious, though well meant interference, are now obvious, but were not then so fully appreciated. Up to that time, there had been little experience in this species of double government. The Political Agent was exceedingly sanguine of the resources of Jeypore, and anticipated that in a single year the revenues would amount to forty lakhs; in the second to fifty lakhs; and in the third to sixty lakhs of rupees, but the highest estimate of those best informed, had never exceeded forty lakhs; and as yet thirty-four lakhs was the largest amount which up to that time, they had been ever known to reach.

Captain Stewart doubted whether his measures would be successful, as long as the state of parties at Jeypore was so uncertain; and whether

all his plans for the improvement of the revenue would not be upset, by the jealous and suspicious temper of the Regent Ranee. The plan now proposed, therefore, was only carried out some time afterwards, when the whole power of the State had been placed in the hands of the Rawul, who acted entirely under the advice, and even orders of the Political Agent. To secure himself in power, and to obtain Jootha Ram's overthrow, the Rawul made certain proposals to the Regent Ranee, for the management of the State, and for a reform in her own domestic arrangements. These proposals exasperated the Regent, and were rejected by her; but she withheld her resentment for a time, which was however not the less deep, and affected to make a reconciliation between the Rawul and Jootha Ram. However, in August of the same year, (1821) the Rawul obtained the Political Agent's unqualified guarantee for his maintenance in power, provided he executed the duties of Mooktear with vigor and efficiency, and honestly and sincerely commenced the work of reformation. Immediately this guarantee had been given, the accounts of the State, and its affairs were laid at the Agent's feet, and proclamations were issued throughout the country, offering the lands to the farmers on three years' leases, under the guarantee of the British Government; though such a proceeding was strenuously opposed by Jootha Ram, and Ummur Chund, his dependant and the official in charge of the Revenue Department of the State.

Jootha Ram was now placed under the Rawul, by the overpowering influence of the British Agent; who, however, still expressed doubts of the Ranee, and the influence which Jootha Ram exercised over her mind. He even suggested, in case she adopted the advice of those who were opposed to the plans of the British Government for the good of the State, that she should be deprived of power by the assembled Thakoors, as had happened to the mother of Pertab Singh, the young Maharajah's grandfather. This plan, however, was not approved by the Rawul, who considered that the meeting would be tumultuous, and lead to no result. He preferred rather that the British Government should remove the Ranee's evil advisers, including the two slaves, which would be sufficient for all purposes.

From Secretary to Government, to Sir D. Ochterlony, dated 22nd September 1821.

The Government sanction and approval had, in the meantime, arrived to the pledge given to the Rawul, and the duty of administering the affairs of the country virtually fell into the hands of the Political Agent; who made, through the Rawul, such changes in the various civil and judicial arrangements throughout the country, as appeared to be best for the interests of the State. The Regent Ranee was much dissatisfied with these proceedings, and insisted upon Jootha Ram being associated with the Rawul, which led the latter again to propose to the Political Agent, the removal of the Ranee's confidential advisers, *viz.*, Jootha Ram, the two slave girls and her spiritual adviser, Sreejee Muhunt, besides one or two others of inferior importance. To carry out this measure, the assistance of a British force was considered indispensable by the Rawul, and as this was denied, he consented to carry on measures in conjunction with Jootha Ram.

In February 1823, immediately subsequent to a visit to Jeypore by the Resident, the Regent Ranee, chafing under the galling thraldom of

her situation, summarily denied the Rawul admittance to her durbar, and took into her councils, Megh Singh, Thakoor of Diggee, a man of a violent and turbulent character. As no charges had been brought against the Rawul, who was acting as minister, under the guarantee of the British Government, the Political Agent insisted on the dismissal of Jootha Ram and Megh Singh; and as the Ranee declined compliance with the demand, Jootha Ram was called upon to resign without reference to her permission. Thakoor Megh Singh, who had been sent by the Ranee to the Political Agent, was ordered to return to the Ranee, who was requested not to send him again to the Political Agent; "as she "must be aware that we should regard as enemies, those who interfered "in concerns which belonged exclusively to Rawul Byree Saul, with "whom alone we would communicate, as the Mooktear of the State."

Being so pressed, and the power of the Political Agent being so overwhelming, Jootha Ram resigned office, but he still continued his intrigues. The Ranee acted on his council alone, which was obtained through the intervention of the two female slaves, who used to visit him. To check this, and to strike another blow at the Ranee's party, so as to secure the Rawul firmly in power, the Political Agent addressed Sir D. Ochterlony, advising the resumption of the village and Fort of Lamba from Megh Singh.

This place was a small fief, adjoining the Ajmeer Districts; which under the peculiar circumstances of the grant, Megh Singh had not been called upon to surrender, when the other chiefs of Jeypore had been called upon to give up to the crown, acquisitions of crown lands and villages, obtained during the invasions by the Maharattas. Though four years had elapsed since the resumptions were made, this appears to have been the first time Lamba was demanded from Megh Singh, but the act was justified by the Political Agent as necessary, on the plea of striking a blow at the influence possessed by Megh Singh over the Ranee, and his inimical feelings towards the Rawul. When so violent and dictatorial a tone was assumed by the British Agent, it is not to be wondered at, that wherever reactionary feeling at the court exhibited itself, it proved to be equally violent in its manifestations, as that which gave rise to it. The small fort at Lamba was attacked by a Brigade of British troops from Nusseerabad, was gallantly defended, and only fell after we had suffered a considerable loss in killed and wounded.

The Rawul, in the mean time, was obliged to take measures for the defence of his house in the city, on which an attack by the unprincipled advisers of the Ranee was deemed imminent. The Rawul's brother, Kishen Singh, encamped near the Agency, which henceforth became the rallying point for all parties having a grievance against the authorities in power. The Ranee circulated a document of charges against the Rawul, to which were affixed the signatures of the several Thakoors and others on her side, whilst the Political Agent adopted the same course, in respect to those favorable to the Rawul.

The capture of Lamba, however, and the receipt of the orders of Government of the 18th March 1823, completely altered the aspect of affairs, and scattered at once, all opposition to the Political Agent's measures. The Governor

From Secretary to Government to Sir D. Ochterlony, dated 18th March 1823.

General in Council directed "the appointment of Rawul Byree Saul "as mooktear or manager, to act independently of the Ranee's authori- "ty, and to be responsible directly to the British Government, as the "legitimate guardian of the rights and interests of the young Rajah." The Ranee was to be informed of the "determination of the British "Government, in favor of Rawul Byree Saul's assumption of the ex- "ecutive administration of the government, and its demand for the "immediate removal of Jootha Ram, and his faction, from all partici- "pation in the conduct of public affairs. The Governor General in Council "is also disposed to think, that it will be expedient to require Jootha "Ram, to fix his residence at a distance from Jeypore." "The Ranee will "cease to exercise any interference in the administration of the govern- "ment; and her duties and authority will be confined to the charge of "the infant Rajah's person, and the control of the interior of the palace."

The Political Agent, however, did not deem it advisable, to carry out the orders of Government to the extent sanctioned, and still allowed the Ranee to retain her position of Agent in the State, placing the whole real power in the hands of the Rawul as Mooktear. Megh Singh went off to his estate at Diggee, and Jootha Ram proceeded on a pilgrimage; whilst the minor members of the Regent's party dispersed. The Ranee became outwardly most subservient, and at once invested the Rawul as Regent, with a khillut of the 1st class.

Captain Stewart left Jeypore, and was succeeded by Major Raper on the 23rd April 1824. The Ranee took advantage of the change of officers, to carry out her long conceived intention to expel the Rawul. With that object, she intrigued with the troops of the State, and in October 1824, summoned the various battalions to the capital, under pretext of demanding their arrears of pay. She sent an invitation to all the Thakoors, who were favorable to her, to come to Jeypore, and especially to the Shekhawuts, to assist her in expelling the Nathawuts (the Rawul Byree Sal, and Kishen Singh, Thakoor of Chomooh, were the heads of the Nathawut Kothree). She sent also for Sreejee Muhunt, who had been lately banished the country, and exerted her utmost endeavours to excite a commotion. The troops obeyed her bidding, encamping near the Sanganer gate of the city, and were further protected by 24 guns. Major Raper behaved with great prudence and forbearance on this occasion. He at once called upon the Brigadier at Nusseerabad for support, and when the Ranee did not adopt any measures for withdrawing the battalions, to whom she sent secret instructions countermanding her public orders, he withdrew to a distance from the city. Great anarchy and distrust prevailed in Jeypore. All the shops were closed, and mercantile operations ceased; and this uncertain state of affairs lasted about two months. The Rawul who was at first in great dread for his safety, had fortunately been permitted to leave the city, and was with the Political Agent, who upheld with mildness, but firmness, the orders of his government. But for the absence of the Rawul, and the Thakoors favorable to him, the city would most probably have become the scene of anarchy and plunder.

The Resident, Sir D. Ochterlony, arrived shortly afterwards from Delhi, and took up his abode in the city. He ignored the presence and the acts of the Political Agent, who remained outside the city. Not-

withstanding his previous strongly expressed opinion in favor of the Rawul, as the fittest person to rule the country, the Resident allowed free scope to the objections urged by the Regent Ranee, and permitted her to dismiss him with disgrace. There was no doubt, that the Rawul's re-instatement in office, after late events, was manifestly incompatible with the Regency of the Ranee mother, but there appeared no occasion for the surrender of his office, but with honor. A new administration was appointed by the Regent Ranee herself, and consisted entirely of Jootha Ram's party. Megh Singh was at its head, and under him Hookum Chund, Jootha Ram's brother, whilst the infamous Dewan Ummur Chund had charge of the revenue. In these arrangements, Lieutenant Colonel Raper observed, that there was no prospect of future good, but much risk of evil.

From Secretary to Government, to Sir D. Ochterlony, dated 10th April 1825.

The Rawul, though allowedly just in all his dealings, had yet been deficient in energy, and wanted reliance in his own judgment. Regarding his dismissal the Governor General in Council, when reviewing the reports of the transactions at Jeypore, ordered, that the Rawul was to remain undisturbed in his hereditary possessions, to receive acquittance on the subject of his accounts, and his vakeel was to remain in attendance on the Political Agent. The new administration was sanctioned, as an experimental measure, liable to revision or modification, should interference in the internal affairs of Jeypore be again forced on us. In the meanwhile, it was directed, that "the Political Agent "should entirely withdraw from the interference now exercised." With regard to Jootha Ram "it was distinctly to be stated to the Ranee, that "the sentence of banishment, passed against that corrupt and profligate "individual, could not be withdrawn."

The Ranee ascribed her release from the thraldom in which she had been held, to her own violent acts; and to her influence with the Resident, and the British Government. After our frequent and forcibly expressed determination to uphold the Rawul, a feeling naturally got abroad, not that we were anxious to leave the affairs of foreign governments to their own rulers, but that the British Government was afraid of the power of Jeypore. This caused an increase of pride and arrogance, not only in the court and amongst the members of the administration, but even among the disorderly and turbulent population of the city.

The Regent Ranee, finding herself uncontrolled, gave bridle to her base and vicious desires. Her female slave "Roopa," was invested with a khillut, and received the title of "Raj Bundharin," by which was understood, that the entire and uncontrolled management of affairs was vested in her, as in a Mookhtiar. To secure her power, she openly murdered those who opposed it, and did not even regard the sanctity of the palace, so that she might strike terror into the minds of all inhabiting it. The revenues of the country were squandered by her, and her associates, with reckless profligacy. To meet the current necessary expenditure, the next year's income was forestalled; whilst the tribute to the British Government was altogether neglected, and the arrears soon rose to eight lakhs of rupees. Under the Rawul's management, the tribute had been regularly liquidated, and he had paid into the Jeypore Treasury, a lakh of rupees in excess of the disbursements. All departments of the

State clamored for pay, and the troops marched with their guns, and took possession of the gates of the palace, to enforce their demands.

The Regent Ranee eagerly desired the return of Jootha Ram, and at one time had actually sent for him; but the Political Agent threatened that he would retire from the Court, in case a measure so opposed to the commands of Government were carried into effect. In his report on the subject, however, on leaving Jeypore, whilst expressing no hope of a favorable change in the feelings of the administration, he suggested that the restriction on Jootha Ram's return to Jeypore might, without inconvenience, be taken off; as he was still consulted on every important occasion, and his advice taken, without his being burthened with any responsibility.

One of the earliest measures of Captain Low (now Major General Sir J. Low) who succeeded Lieutenant Colonel Raper, on the 12th November 1825, was the question, as to the appearance of the young Maharajah in public. Both Lieutenant Colonel Raper and Captain Low were under the erroneous impression, that it was necessary, that as soon as the young prince appeared in public, at about five years of age, the control of the affairs of the State would pass away from the hands of the Regent Ranee, and be vested hereafter in those of one of the Thakoors. Captain Low anticipated, that strenuous efforts would be made by the Regent Ranee to oppose such a course, in which she was certain of support from her party, and he therefore laboured the more earnestly to accomplish it. The Thakoors, particularly those of the Rawul's party, were anxious for the destruction of the Regent Ranee's power, at all hazards, and they urged on Captain Low, to assemble the chiefs of the State, and to obtain from them an expression of their sentiments, which they stated it would be the bounden duty of the Regent Ranee to acknowledge. The assembly of chiefs for the deposition of the mother of the late Pertab Singh, and again for establishing the fact of the pregnancy of the present Ranee, had led to the belief, that such an assembly was a constitutional and usual mode of giving expression to the general feeling of the numerical majority in the country, on any particular line of policy; and this misled both Colonel Raper and Captain Low. In both the above instances, however, the opinion of all parties in the State was identical, the chiefs merely giving utterance to what all felt. The action itself was exceptional, and only justified by the success of the proceeding. In the present dispute, there was no such unanimity. Many and powerful chiefs, including the Shekhawuts, were on the side of the Ranee; who, though she was profligate and had allowed the British tribute to fall into arrears, was still in the exercise of legitimate power, legitimately acquired. Captain Low, moreover, relied much on the advice of Rawul, who was held in high estimation by every Political Officer, not only for his social position and influence in the State, but also for his abilities and general character. The mahjee (Regent Ranee) desired, under one pretext or another, to postpone the appearance of the Rajah, and also the assembly of the chiefs. These were divided, as Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had succeeded Sir David Ochterlony as Resident, expressed it, into the "ins" and the "outs." The latter were encamped near the Agency House, whilst the "ins," (the Regent Ranee's party,) were inside the city, and Jeypore again presented the curious spectacle of the British representative, though an

officer far above petty political bias, being in the midst of those at variance with the constituted local authorities, which gave the whole movement a party tendency, for there never had existed any defined right in the chiefs to regulate State affairs.

The two parties met on two successive days (12th and 13th October 1826) for consultation at the Agency House, though not without having first almost come into collision. The scene was imposing in the extreme. No fewer than five or six thousand people were assembled on both sides. The discussions were at first confined to the right of the chiefs to assemble and advise on State affairs. It was soon evident to Captain Low, that there could be no cordiality amongst a class like the chiefs in a Rajpoot State, torn by mutual rivalries and jealousies, and possessing so little principle or patriotism, as to be willing to sacrifice every thing to self-interest; whilst their timidity would not allow them to give utterance to their real feelings. Selfish and fond of ease, Rajpoot chiefs are willing to submit to any amount of degradation from their Sovereigns, so long as their patrimonial estates are not interfered with; and of this, there was no fear from the Regent, who was not avaricious. Up to that time, her administration had not been distinguished by any arbitrary acts towards the people generally; and the condition of the Jeypore Chiefs, when contrasted with those of Jodhpore, exhibited no symptoms of harshness or avarice. There was no reason, therefore, why the chiefs should have been so dissatisfied with the Ranee, as to have desired her downfall. Moreover, the chiefs themselves preferred the ministerial functions being exercised by a mootsuddee, rather than by one of their own class, especially by a Nathawut, a clan, which they have for many years regarded with envy and dread, as possessing chiefs of greater ability, and intelligence, than any other Rajpoot family.

At the congress, six questions were put to the vote, based on three issues, 1st, the Maharajah's appearance in public; 2nd, the rights of the Regent Ranee; and 3rd, the appointment of a Mooktear. No answer, however, could be obtained from the 70 chiefs, who were thus assembled, till each one was taken separately into another room, and his answer recorded by Captain Low himself. The greater number, on this occasion, were opposed to the rights of the Regent Ranee; but the majority was very small; and considering the power and influence in council of the great chiefs, it would not have been sufficient, to have justified any action upon it; much less, when circumstances had induced the belief that we were working for the Rawul.

This was felt by Sir Charles Metcalfe, who visited Jeypore at this time. He was at once impressed with the feeling, that the assembly of chiefs was wrong; because there was no law, or custom in the State, to deprive the Ranee mother of the Regency. He considered that the congress was caused by us, under an erroneous impression, produced by the representations of the Rawul, to which we gave too much credit, and that the belief, that one general sentiment pervaded the chiefs, as to the propriety of removing the Regent Ranee, was dissipated by the spectacle of two contending parties. Sir Charles, therefore, had a second meeting of chiefs, but to prevent interference or the appearance of interference on our part, two chiefs of either party were appointed, to receive and record the votes given in their presence. The majority, in

this instance, in which only 50 voted, was in favour of the Ranee mother; showing 28 for her, while only 22 were opposed to her continuance in power.

The adoption of the above course of taking the votes of the chiefs, in the presence of the Regent Ranee's ministers, necessitated a guarantee, by the British Government, being granted to all those chiefs, who had rendered themselves obnoxious, by recording opinions against the Ranee on the occasion. These guarantees became a source of irritation to the Jeypore Court; and of annoyance and inconvenience to the Local Political Agent, who was bound to prevent acts, unauthorized by custom, on the part of the court, against the holders of them; whilst they, on the other hand, presumed on them; and considered that the Political Agent should have interposed oftener than he did, and even when the demands of the court bore the impress of justice. Attempts were early made by the Regent Ranee, to break through the guarantees. She ordered the attack of the country residence of the Thakoor of Lowan, in which many of his adherents were put to the sword; and a house, in which a few had sought refuge, was deliberately and barbarously surrounded with fuel and burnt; by which all, who were inside, perished. A large village, belonging to the Jhellye Chief, was also plundered, but the court being called on to pay compensation to this chief, was constrained to put a stop to further excesses of this nature.

The breach between the Rawul and Ranee mother continued; and was still further widened by the Political Agent, insisting on the presence of the Rawul, and other chiefs inimical to the Ranee mother, at the durbar in which the young Rajah was to make his first appearance; and the animosity became so strong, that all hope of reconciliation became out of the question.

Jootha Ram had returned to the capital soon after Captain Low's advent, and with the sanction of Government; but he did not immediately resume his position at court. His assumption of power, however, was not long delayed, nor were the disturbances which were certain to follow. The army again mutinied, and the town was almost in a state of siege, with guns posted at each of the gates. Jootha Ram, who dreaded the popular indignation, took refuge in the interior of the palace in a room, close to the entrance of the zenanah. The troops for a long time refused to be pacified, and dispersed only on the payment to them of their arrears, and the mediation by Captain Low. This officer's health required at this time a visit to the hills, and Mr. George Clerk (now Sir G. Clerk, K. C. B.) was appointed to officiate for him.

From Secretary to Government, to Sir E. Colebrooke, dated 25th April 1828.

One of the first acts of Mr. Clerk was to communicate to the Ranee mother, the orders of Government, sanctioning the appointment of Jootha Ram as minister, which caused great rejoicing in the palace. In the city and country generally, the nomination was ascribed to a desire on the part of the British Government to annex the country, on account of the certain ensuing anarchy. The Governor General in Council observed, that the present ministry, "formed on the principle of excluding the Ranee's favorite, is rapidly "deteriorating the country, and there is the utmost difficulty experienced "in realizing our tribute." "The abilities of Jootha Ram are not denied,

" and there is some chance of their being exerted for our advantage and " the public good. We know that Jootha Ram, in spite of our remon- " strances, does practically exercise a powerful influence over the Ranee's " mind, which, under existing circumstances, he can have no motive to " employ for other purposes, than those of private cupidity and self- " aggrandizement. He possesses substantially the power, little short of " prime minister, without the respectability and responsibility, properly " belonging to the office." The change of policy which, appears by the above extract, and which was now adopted, was occasioned by the arrival in Calcutta, as Governor General, of Lord William Bentinck. However correct and desirable in the abstract, yet the change from the course by which our policy had been previously guided, was too sudden, and it was too hastily forced upon the country, and carried out too generally, without due regard being had to local circumstances in each particular case, or to the obligations entered into by previous Governors.

All the remonstrances and serious admonitions constantly and persistently urged on the Court of Jeypore, by previous Governors General, regarding Jootha Ram and his party, were cast aside; and our character here, as elsewhere, suffered for want of consistency, in the highest place, and for the non-maintenance of solemn obligations, which materially weakened our prestige, and the hands of our local officers. The Rajpoot Thakoors exhibited outwardly their usual supineness. Mr. Clerk said, that " the chiefs are obnoxious to the reproach of moral degradation, " in admitting of so iniquitous a school for their prince. Now that the " indignity, which holds them up to the derision of all India, is about to " be sealed and sanctified, one would suppose that the time was perfectly " ripe for Rajpoot feeling to resent it." This was true, as far as the moral obligation went; but the moral degradation did not interfere with them personally, either in their lands or purses; and Jootha Ram had not been unmindful of the policy of conciliating as many of them as he could. He had negociated the recall of nearly all the proscribed chiefs, and had given employment to many of them; so that, before three years had passed, the Rawul himself was the only exception to those received into favor; and even he received a turban, on the occasion of the investiture in durbar of his second son, who had been adopted by his brother Kishen Singh, into the fief of Choumoh. Jootha Ram was also careful not to give offence to the British Government, by witholding the tribute, which was at the time much in arrears. He made a prompt payment of eight lakhs of rupees, which was soon followed by others. In 1827 the tribute was eight lakhs in arrears, besides a debt of two lakhs on account of it to a Banker, and this Jootha Ram liquidated.

For some years, Maharajah Maun Singh of Marwar had commenced that series of oppressive exactions on his chiefs, which eventually led to our troops entering the State of Marwar, and re-settling it. Many of the expatriated chiefs found shelter amongst their relations in Jeypore, and carried on a system of reprisals against Marwar. Dhowkul Singh, a pretender to the Marwar throne, also about this time showed himself, and levied large bodies of men in Jeypore and Shekhawattee. The Jeypore Government took no measures to remedy this state of things, but the pretender openly received assistance from members of the Jeypore administration, which caused a serious remonstrance to be addressed to the court from the Supreme Government, who held out a

threat of exacting retribution, on account of the injuries inflicted by Dhowkul Singh on the population of Marwar.

Captain Low resumed charge of the office of Political Agent from Mr. Clerk on the 1st December 1829, and having been nominated Resident at Gwalior, the agency was transferred to the Superintendent of Ajmere, the Hon'ble Mr. Cavendish, who holding it only for a few months, was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel Lockett, in whom was created the appointment of Agent to the Governor General for the States of Rajpootana, in A. D. 1832, at the time of the visit of the Governor General Lord William Bentinck to Ajmere. From the time of the departure of Mr. Cavendish to the re-constitution of the agency in September 1838, the records are very defective, in consequence of the frequent change of officers.

As yet little reference has been made to Shekhawattee. The three most powerful chiefs in that community in those days, were Luchmun Singh, Rao Rajah of Seekur, Abhey Singh, and after his death Bukhtawur Singh, Rajah of Khetree, and Sham Singh, Thakoor of Bissao. The first and last chiefs were much mixed up with the intrigues at Jeypore, and were generally found on the side of the Ranee mother, as were the mass of the Shekhawuts, who had little to lose from the frowns of the court, whilst the more unprincipled the minister, the more likely were they to connive at the acts of plunder perpetrated, and the arbitrary exactions levied by the Shekhawuts on unoffending traders. The Jeypore Government was in the habit of taking a chout (fourth part) of such gains from those holding fortresses in Shekhawuttee, and was in consequence induced to screen the mode of life pursued by these marauding chieftains. The country from these causes became more and more disturbed, till it was deemed advisable to send an officer on a special mission, to report on the best mode of stopping these excesses. Lieutenant Colonel Lockett was the officer appointed to this duty, and in A. D. 1831-32, he made a tour through the country. In consequence of his report, a Brigade of British Troops from Nusseerabad, with Artillery and Cavalry, was employed in Shekhawuttee, for the purpose of dismantling the numerous forts of the chiefs in the country. This duty was successfully accomplished.

With the view of giving permanent employment to a portion of the Shekhawuts, who had hitherto lived by plunder, and to whose country nature has denied an adequate return for agricultural labor, it was determined to raise a Corps of Cavalry, composed of 6 Rissalahs, each Rissalah of 73 Sabres of all ranks, formed from the most notorious of the plundering clans. To defray the cost of this regiment, a tax in imitation of the Mahratta "fouj khurich" was levied on the chiefs of the country, to which they had never before been liable; and which was over and above the tribute they paid, to the Jeypore State. This tax was fixed at Rs. 73,500 a year, of which Rs. 22,000 was paid by Beekaneer, on account of two Rissalahs of Beedawuts (a plundering clan of Rajpoots inhabiitng that country) and Rs. 51,500 by the Shekhawattee Chiefs. The chiefs added it as an extra cess on the agricultural classes, and still further impoverished a poverty-stricken-population. The corps was raised by Lieutenant Forster, and in A. D. 1836-37, it was made over to the Jeypore Government, when 2 more Rissalahs were added to it,

and 2 horsed field pieces. On the withdrawal of the British regular troops from Shekhawattee, in A. D. 1835, 2 weak Regiments of Jeypore Infantry, each having two guns attached, were sent to strengthen it; and the whole force formed the Shekhawattee Brigade, of 1 Corps of Cavalry, 2 Regiments of Infantry and I Horse Battery of 6 guns, under the command of Lieutenant Forster, who received the rank of Major from the Jeypore Government.

Under Major Forster's able and vigorous command, the force attained to a high degree of efficiency, and proved of valuable service on many occasions, under the gallant leading of its commander, and his sons. Through Major Forster's zeal and activity, all plundering was soon repressed in Shekhawattee, and the country enjoyed a degree of freedom from highway robberies, hitherto unknown to it. The whole yearly cost of the Brigade with contingencies, amounted to three lakhs of rupees, which with the exception of the "fouj khurich," was defrayed out of the impoverished finances of Jeypore, already overburthende by our tribute and the heavy arrears, which had accumulated.

In addition to the command of the Shekhawattee Brigade, Major Forster was invested with general magisterial control over Shekhawattee. This brought him into conflict with the Regency, and the Shekhawattee Chiefs, which was not at all conducive to their being reconciled to the "fouj khurich" levied for the cost of the Brigade, which pressed heavily upon them. Eventually, as the dissatisfaction increased, and the tranquillity of Shekhawattee rendered the maintenance of so large a body of troops in it unnecessary, whilst the extra expense weighed upon the finances of Jeypore, the Brigade was reduced in numbers. The two Regiments of Infantry were amalgamated into one, which constitutes the present 13th N. I., and the cost was transferred to the British Government, the levy of "fouj khurich" being also abandoned. This final change however only took place in 1843.

The small State of Khetree had been early connected with us. In A. D. 1803, its chief, Abhey Singh, had joined Lord Lake, and a convention had been concluded with Khetree, as a substantive and independant power, by which, in case of any disagreement between the British Government and Jeypore, Khetree was bound to side with the British Government. Rajah Abhey Singh placed his country and troops at our disposal during the Mahratta war, and sent his own brother, with a body of Rajpoot horse, to join General Monson on his ill-fated expedition to Guzerat. During that officer's disastrous retreat, the greater number of the Khetree Rajpoots were destroyed with their leader, fighting on the banks of the Chumbul. For his services to the British Government, Lord Lake granted the Rajah of Khetree the small pergunnah of Kot Pootlee, yielding about Rs. 90,000 yearly. After the abrogation of the first treaty with Jeypore, Khetree still continued under the protection of the British Government, but on the conclusion of the second treaty in A. D. 1818, Sir Charles Metcalfe was of opinion, that it suspended the convention made with Khetree, (excepting so far as Kot Pootlee was concerned, for which Khetree owed fealty to us). When the question again arose, (and it is one of those constantly cropping up) on the discovery of the com-

From Sir C. Metcalfe to Secretary to Government, dated 29th January 1818.

plicity of the Khetree vakeel in a conspiracy, for which he was blown away from a gun, the Governor General in Council declined to interfere. "The conditional assurance, "received from Sir C. Metcalfe, distinctly de- "clares, that the Khetree Chief is subject to the "authority of the Jeypore State, and a reference to the despatch, dated "29th January 1818, addressed by Sir C. Metcalfe, to the Chief Secre- "tary to Government, will show more completely the character of "that document; according to which, if Jeypore had not entered into "a treaty with the British Government, the Khetree Chief would have "been received under our protection; but the treaty with that State "having been concluded, his allegiance to the Rajah of Jeypore remained "unimpaired."

Secretary to Government, to Mr. Hawkins, dated 1st October 1836.

In A. D. 1818, when the Jeypore treaty was concluded, Rajah Bukhtawur Singh ruled in Khetree. The Khetree Rajah, unlike the other Shekhawattee Chiefs, invariably adhered to the Rawul, as the latter was the side supported by the British Political Agent. Rajah Bukhtawur Singh died in the beginning of the year A. D. 1830, and was succeeded by his infant son, Shewnath Singh, during whose minority Khetree was managed by the mother of the Rajah. The same partial interference exercised by us in Jeypore affairs, was exercised by Jeypore in those of Khetree, which led to the same kind of disputes as at the capital. The armed levies on each occasion of difference, which had always to be paid up and discharged by the Khetree State, no matter on whose side they fought, involved the little principality deeper and deeper in debt; whilst its tribute to Jeypore, falling into arrears, gave that power the coveted excuse for interference which it so much desired, and Khetree so much dreaded. During these disputes all interference by Jeypore with Kot Pootlee was jealously guarded against by our Political Agent.

The operations of the British forces in Shekhawattee have already been alluded to. As the Cavalry Corps under Major Forster assumed some degree of organization, the British troops, who were scattered throughout the country, and who occupied Tourwattee, a noted nest of plunderers and free-booters, as well as Shekhawattee, were gradually withdrawn. The expenses of the British armament had been considerable, and as the responsibility of quiet in the country devolved on Jeypore, to which it belonged, the cost of the armament was debited against those States, whose ill-management had made its assembly requisite. The share of Jeypore amounted to fourteen lacs of rupees, and as there was no security for the repayment of this sum, it was deemed advisable to hold in our hands, a material guarantee, which was effected by the attachment of the Jeypore half of the Sambhur Salt Lake, till the expenses of the armament should be liquidated. This weakened the resources of Jeypore, and made the liquidation of the arrears of the debt still more problematical than it was before. The Jeypore share of the revenue from the Sambhur Lake, after paying all expenses, was about one and half lakh of rupees. Captain Morrieson was placed in charge of the whole Lake, the Marwar share having been sequestrated for the same reason as the Jeypore share.

The mismanagement at the capital and the squandering of the resources of the State still continued. In September 1831, the tribute to the British Government was twelve lakhs of rupees in arrears. The

disorganization of the State increased, and many felt, that nothing but evil could result to their country. This gave rise to isolated attempts to rid the country of the cause of so much misrule, but they invariably ended in failure. The most important of these attempts was the insurrection planned by Bijjey Singh Bhattee, who, with seven others, and amongst them the Khetree vakeel, were executed. The Maharajah, though quite a boy, had constantly appeared in public, was well attended, and was of a promising disposition. He had married, and though very young, his queen (the Chundrawutjee) had given birth to a son, the present Maharajah Sewae Ram Singh, who was born in August, or September 1832, and about the same time, the Ranee mother (Bhutteeaneejee) died.

All hopes for the future of the young Maharajah were however soon blasted. The same miscreant, Jootha Ram, who had so afflicted his country, has the odious distinction of having accomplished the death of his young master, to bring about another minority, and to prolong his hold on power. Though the actual murder was not witnessed, for who can penetrate the veil drawn over the deeds done behind the purdah, yet the suddenness of the young Rajah's demise, the haste and secrecy with which the funeral rites were performed, and the quickness with which they were hurried over, left the full conviction on the mind of all, though perhaps not susceptive of legal proof, that Jootha Ram had actually committed the crime, with which he is to this day universally charged. The young Maharajah Jey Singh died in the early part of A. D. 1835.

On hearing the intelligence, Colonel Alves, Agent, Governor General, Rajpootana, who was then in Shekhawattee, hastened to the capital, and at once adopted measures for ridding the city of the monster, whose return to Jeypore should never have been permitted. The same parties were in power, who had been in power previously. Jootha Ram, the two slave girls, Dewan Ummur Chund, Bukshee Moona Lall, the Muhunt, and Megh Singh, Thakoor of Diggee, with several of the Shekhawut Chiefs, including Sham Singh of Bussao (who had murdered his uncle and his cousin, to lay violent hands on their patrimony), Hunwunt Singh of Munohurpore, and Chimmun Singh of Saewar, both bosom friends of Jootha Ram On the death of the young Maharajah Jey Singh, the Chundrawutjee had become the Ranee mother, and *defacto* Regent of the State, and was as much opposed to the Rawul, and as much enamoured of this unprincipled faction led by Jootha Ram, as the Bhutteeaneejee herself had been. The Agent, Governor General, insisted on the dismissal of Jootha Ram, who was put under arrest in the fortress of Dowsa, and on the expulsion from the city of Roopa Bunndharin, and her disreputable crew. The Rawul was again placed in power, as sole manager, and arrangements were in progress for the future administration of the country.

The fruits of our former vaccillating policy and hesitation were now about to appear, in a more daring form, than had been before adopted by those opposed to our measures, and to culminate in the murder of an accomplished English Gentleman Mr. Blake, of the Civil Service, Assistant to the Agent, Governor General, and in the wounding of the latter high functionary himself. It will have been observed, that all changes at Jeypore had been preceded by violence, and as our

own variations of policy had followed closely on such scenes, so as to bear the appearance of having been caused by them; we can hardly be surprised, that the wickedness and folly of the zenanah faction should have anticipated, that the surest means of getting the Agent, Governor General, to dismiss the Rawul, was to excite an emeute in the city; by which means the Ranee mother would be allowed to choose her own ministry; a plan which had previously succeeded with Sir David Ochterlony. Moreover, Rawul Byree Saul had lately died, and had been succeeded by his son Rawul Sheo Singh, who had not the great talents or high character of his father, nor was he so well known to the English officers. The zenanah faction expected, that any disorganization in the city, in which the Rawul might possibly be murdered, would be ascribed by the British Government to want of popularity on his part, and that he only could be held responsible for the consequences of the anarchy. It was well known, that our policy was opposed to the support of a minister by armed intervention, and that we generally attributed the causes of disorder not to the machinations of the evil disposed, but to the want of popularity in the object against whom the disturbances were directed. This opinion was taken advantage of, in the expectation of exhibiting in a marked manner, the want of popularity in the Rawul. In the Native mind generally a vague feeling doubtless prevailed, that on an appointed day, some disturbance was to take place, but its object or its victims could not have been conjectured, or the British officers would certainly have received some warning. People's minds being on the *qui vive*, for disturbance, when the least alarm was raised, it broke out with violence and with fatal results.

From the enquiry which took place, and the correspondence subsequently seized, it appeared that Jootha Ram was the instigator of the conspiracy. His relation, Dewan Ummur Chund, was to entertain some desperate characters, and to commence the disturbance by an assault on the Agent, Governor General. This would raise the city, when Jowahir Singh, the son of Chummun Singh, Thakoor of Saewar, and a connection of the Rao of Munnohurpore, was to march with a large body of armed men from the Munnohurpore Rao's city house, straight to the palace, and there despatch the Rawul with the assistance of the zenanah party inside.

The orders of Government, for the management of the country, by the Rawul Sheo Singh, had just arrived. On the 4th June 1835, the Agent, Governor General, accompanied by his Assistant Mr. Blake and two other gentlemen, proceeded to the palace, to make the same known at the durbar. After performing this duty the Resident was about to mount his elephant, when he was suddenly attacked from behind by a man with a drawn sword, who inflicted three severe wounds on his neck. The would-be assassin was seized by Mr. Blake, who threw him down, and disarmed him, and having tied his hands behind his back, sent him off to jail, fastened to a bed. The Resident, in the meanwhile, had been put into a palanquin, and was taken away to the Agency, without any hindrance or suspicion, as to who was inside the conveyance. The other two gentlemen, being both on horseback, had previously mounted, and cantered out of the city.

Considerable time had elapsed before Mr. Blake had mounted his elephant, and vague rumours of murder had begun to spread. The

partizans of the zenanah faction were collected under Hidayutoollah Khan at the outer gate of the palace, prepared for the anticipated disturbances. When therefore Mr. Blake appeared, holding in his hand, the assassin's bloody sword, his clothes being also covered with blood, the report was spread by them that the gentleman had murdered the infant Maha Rajah. Mr. Blake was instantly attacked with whatever missiles came to hand. He continued to urge on the elephant, in hopes of clearing the city, but finding the gate closed, and that he could not escape in that direction, whilst the chupprassie behind him had been killed, and the mahout was wounded, he mounted from the elephant into a balcony over a gateway leading into the Court-yard of a temple, and then running down, shut and fastened the gate. A post of Meenas was stationed nearly opposite the temple who, not knowing the cause of the disturbance, and hearing the people shouting "kill him," "kill him," effected an entrance over the walls, and murdered the unfortunate gentleman, whose body they threw out into the street, where it was still further mutilated. Three chuprassies, an umbrella bearer, and the mahout were also killed.

At the time that this scene was being enacted, the troops of the Rao of Munohurpore were marched by Jowahir Singh to the palace, where the Rawul and other chiefs were assembled. The Rawul had ordered the palace gates to be closed. The Munohurpore men tried to break them open, and only desisted, when stopped by some of the Rawul's followers. There was no further commotion in the city, because there were no other victims, and because the actual intentions of the conspirators had not been generally promulgated. It appears doubtful, whether the mode of originating the disturbance had been communicated to any but Jootha Ram, his brother, Ummur Chund, and his immediate dependants and Hidayutoollah.

The Rawul acted promptly, and with energy on the occasion. Before any messenger could be sent from the Agency House to which Mr. Blake's body had been carried, and where the Agent, Governor General, was having his wounds dressed, the Rawul had seized the Meena guard, the actual murderers, and had hanged them in front of the gate of the temple, in which the outrage had been committed, and every means were adopted by him for apprehending those concerned in the outbreak.

The British Government appointed a commission to enquire into and investigate the whole circumstances, and to sentence the guilty parties. The commission found the guilt proved against Jootha Ram, and his brother Hookum Chund, of encompassing the murder, with the intention of casting the odium of it upon the Rawul. Sah Sewlall, the agent, and Futteh Lall, the son of Jootha Ram, were also convicted as principals, having been employed to arrange matters at Jeypore, and to give confidence to the conspirators, in the absence of Jootha Ram himself and Hookum Chund, who were in prison at Dowsa. Dewan Ummur Chund, and under him Manuk Chund Bhowsa, were found to have arranged for the commencement of the outbreak, by an attack by the assassin Futteh Singh, on the Agent Governor General; whilst Hidayutoollah was to raise the city, and Bukshee Moona Lall to keep the army together, which was already on the side of the Rance mother.

The commission sat for a considerable time;—Jootha Ram, Hookum Chund (who died before the orders were received), Ummur Chund,

Hidayutollah, Sah Sewlall and Manuk Chund Bhowsa were sentenced to death, and the others to various terms of imprisonment. Excepting, however, in the cases of Dewan Ummur Chund and Hidayutoollah, the sentences were remitted by Government, and those of the two first commuted to imprisonment for life in the fortress of Chinnar; and the others to imprisonment for various terms. The sense of the heinous insult inflicted on the British Government, in the person of its Agent, seems to have been altogether overlooked, and no satisfaction for this insult was demanded, either from the State or from individuals. The extreme danger to the very existence of the Jeypore State, from the just wrath of the British Government, who would doubtless vindicate its offended dignity, for the unprovoked and dastardly attack within the precincts of the palace, on a British officer, holding the position of representative of the Governor General himself, was fully appreciated by the Rawul, and also by the Regent Ranee. The State coffers in the citadel were opened, and twenty-six lakh of rupees were paid for tribute, and arrears in two years, as a means of propitiating the British Government. No further notice was taken of these transactions, nor do the records show, who should fairly bear the blame of this apathy.

The strain on the resources of the State, caused by the payment of twenty-six lakhs of rupees, in so short a period, could be ill-borne. Jeypore had now to pay four and half lakhs yearly, on account of the Shekhawattee Brigade, and the expenses of the armament, besides eight lakhs on account of tribute, whilst the country had been impoverished by the rule of Jootha Ram, and the chances of its recovery appeared very problematical. The Agent, Governor General, was impressed with the necessity of having a resident Agent at Jeypore, as the only check on wasteful extravagance; whilst Government doubted the success of the measure, as it had heretofore been found productive of embarrassment, rather than of advantage to Government. Colonel Alves proposed direct management by the Political Agent, as the only means of extricating the State from debt, and collecting the arrears of tribute; but Government observed that "if the tribute was "too high, and it appeared to exceed one-third "of the revenues of the country, the Governor "General would prefer, and in so doing, he felt "confident he was pronouncing the sentiments of the Hon'ble Court of "Directors, to grant remissions when its realization cannot be effected "without entailing loss upon the country."

From Secretary to Government, to Colonel Alves, dated 17th February 1838.

There was however no data, on which to found any definite opinion, as to the revenue of the State, its capabilities and its disbursements, The Governor General was constrained, therefore, to agree to Colonel Alves' suggestion, to depute an officer to Jeypore, to enquire into the real resources of the State. Major Ross was the officer nominated to this duty. The Governor General "relied on his discretion" to avoid that line of conduct which, "in the interference on former occasions, in the "affairs of the State, has produced so little "benefit, and so much embarrassment. Your mission being avowed "for the purpose of ascertaining the necesssity of lowering the tribute, "may be expected to be less unpopular, than those of your predecessors."

From Secretary to Government to Major Ross, dated 16th August 1838.

Major Ross arrived at Jeypore on the 29th September 1838, and found the same distracted state of parties, as had previously divided the

country. The Ranee Mother was chafing under the authority, which had been given to the Rawul, and was planning the same attempts at subversion of his influence, which had proved successful in the case of his father. These had always been commenced by a mutiny of the troops, and the same course was again adopted. Two regiments revolted at Ramghur and were joined by 2,000 Nagas stationed there, who refused to obey orders. They only yielded, when a force from Nusseerabad was approaching their position. The Mahjee (Ranee Mother) declined to give up the State Seal to the Rawul, or to permit him to carry the Sword of State at a particular religious festival. The Political Agent was bound to support the Rawul, as the minister of our own creation, but he observed, on the invidious position in which we were placed, and that we should take the lead, so that the world might see that our object was the good of the State, and not the support of the party of the Rawul.

With regard to the tribute and the resources of the State, for the enquiry into which Major Ross had been expressly deputed, that officer remarked, that out of a payment just made of 5 lakhs of rupees, 3½ lakhs was borrowed money in anticipation of revenue. The arrears of tribute were 20 lakhs, and the debt to the bankers, 8½ lakhs. The annual income was only 23½ lakhs, whilst the annual disbursements were 32¾ lakhs. In the last year, the revenue had only been 20 lakhs. Any reduction of tribute from 8 to 6 lakhs, as proposed by Colonel Alves, would afford but little relief. The expenses might be reduced to 2½ lakhs, and resumptions made of 4 or 5 lakhs. The only plan to save the State was to increase the revenue by care and good management, which could only be brought about by our direct interference. If we did this, after three or four years, the revenue would probably reach 30 lakhs.

From Secretary to Government, to Lieutentant Colonel Sutherland, dated 1st April 1839.

But an important change was about to be inaugurated by Government in the affairs at Jeypore, and the partial and hesitating control heretofore exercised in the administration, to be exchanged for one of greater vigor. Lieutenant-Colonel Sutherland, Resident at Gwalior, had been appointed Agent to the Governor General, and was vested with discretionary power in the matter. Government observed that "we had sufficient experience of the bad policy of yielding to the "caprices of females claiming a right to interfere in the Government "of Jeypore, and the present was the time to decide, whether it is con-"sistent with the prosperity of the country, that a zenanah influence "shall be exercised for many years to come over all the affairs of State."

On Colonel Sutherland's arrival at Jeypore, after he had first recommended the permanent continuance of the Jeypore Agency, he explained to the Rawul, that notwithstanding the support received from us, there was no improvement in the condition of the country, and his demand of more support only proved the unpopularity of his position. That there were three ways of proceeding open for adoption. Either, that we should withdraw entirely, when the country would revert to the state it was in previously, and our own presence would be again necessary; or as at Nagpore, that the whole administration of affairs should be placed under the British Agent as manager; or, that the Agent should exercise a more limited control, and govern the country through a Council of Regency; as had been carried out with such beneficial

results in Cutch, under Colonel Pottinger; and which he (Colonel Sutherland) would prefer to see adopted, as more in consonance with Rajpoot feeling. This last course was readily agreed to by the Rawul. It was next requisite to inform the Mahjee of the change about to take place in the government of the country, and likewise in her own position. The interview took place in the absence of the Rawul, and the Mahjee conversed in person with Colonel Sutherland, though she had disdained to be present, when they had come to the Palace, whilst the Rawul was there. The same points were urged upon the Mahjee, as upon the Rawul, with the addition, that she herself would be excluded from all interference, as well as from the exercise of power in any shape. She was very angry at this, and the interview terminated unsatisfactorily as was expected.

It remained, therefore, only to form the Council of Regency, the members of which were chosen by Major Ross, from amongst the highest and most influential Thakoors of the Estate, including the Rawul, and his brother Thakoor Luchmun Singh of Choumoh, the Thakoor of Jhellye, the presumptive heir to the throne, and two others. Major Ross wisely judged, that by giving place and power to the most influential chiefs, they would be enlisted in our favor in this novel experiment in Rajpootana; and that as the whole weight and responsibility of the Government of an extensive country would fall upon a single British officer, it was expedient to have no influences in the Council, liable to clash with one another, or the machine of Government would come to a dead-lock. Colonel Sutherland would have introduced all influences, and have made the Council expansive. This might have done for a Legislative Council, but such a course has never been found to succeed in an executive administration, which to be efficient and vigorous, must be homogenous.

At the first opening of the Council, Major Ross permitted it to sit without his superintendence; but the dangers of this course were at once perceived by Colonel Sutherland, as leading to its independence of the Political Agent's control, and acting without his advice or authority, and initiating measures which had not his sanction. The remedy was at once applied. The Council were addressed by Colonel Sutherland, as to their particular functions, and the control of the Political Agent, who was to be their head, to initiate all measures for the good of the country; and who was to be answerable to the British Government alone for the discharge of the duties of his situation. After this expression of his opinion, no difficulty in the working of the Council was afterwards experienced.

It was not to be supposed, that the Mahjee would submit without a struggle, to the deprivation of so much power, which she possessed, as the mother of the future sovereign of the country. She openly opposed the Council, and all classes were led to receive it with distrust and derision. To destroy its power, the Mahjee intrigued with Thakoor Megh Singh of Diggee, who, on the pretence of being the bearer of a letter to Major Ross, marched with a force of some 5 or 6,000 men upon the capital. The movement was taken under the declared protection of the Mahjee to force her own party into power, and to assert her rights to the Regency. The advantage of having a force like the Shekhawattee Brigade, under the direct control of the Regency, now became apparent.

Thakoor Luchmun Singh moved out with the troops at the capital, to oppose the advance of Megh Singh, who retired towards Doodoo, and the Shekhawattee Brigade, moving down on his flank, dispersed the whole assemblage.

Major Ross was obliged from illness to leave Jeypore, and was succeeded as Political Agent by Major Thoresby, who took charge on the 14th August 1839. He had been employed with the forces in Shekhawattee, in succession to Lieutenant Colonel Lockett, and had sat on the commission for the enquiry into the events connected with the murder of Mr. Blake, so that he was well acquainted with the state of parties, and the individual members composing them at Jeypore. In addition to this, he was acquainted with revenue details, and had an extensive knowledge of administrative affairs. He was, therefore, well fitted to preside over the Council of Regency.

Major Thoresby's first act consisted of a review of the several establishments of the State, with the view of reducing the disbursements to the lowest scale, compatible with efficiency. The Nujeebs were reduced from 5 to 3 regiments, and the guns with each regiment, from 5 to 2, which effected a saving of Rs. 40,000 a year. The Sowars and Regiments of Foot or Telungas were also re-formed. The reduction of the Shekhawattee Brigade was advised, as Major Thoresby considered that two Rissalahs of Cavalry, 2 Horsed Guns, and 1 Battalion of Infantry, formed from the present regiments, with 2 other guns, would be quite sufficient for Shekhawattee; and that the reductions would enable him to lessen the unpopular "Foujdhurich." The Sillahposhes, numbering 4,195, and costing Rs. 2,13,972 yearly, also underwent review, and the troops in the forts, for whose maintenance lands were assigned. The total saving effected in the army, leaving out the Shekhawattee Brigade, did not, however, exceed Rs. 60,000 a year.

Civil and Criminal Courts were established at the capital, independent of each other, which soon proved efficient, and which have advanced in utility and popularity up to the present time. The Customs duties were revised, as were also the Commissariat expenses, which form a very large item in all Rajpoot States, and especially in Jeypore. During the first year of his incumbency, Major Thoresby had not found time to alter any of the revenue details, or to do away with the ruinous system of forming the revenues, and keeping the contract for leases open for months. In the year ending September 1840, the total revenues for the year had been only Rs. 23,02,091. The expenses had amounted to Rs. 32,40,418. The estimates for the current year showed receipts, Rs. 25,36,262, and disbursements, Rs. 20,80,972. This excluded Sambhur, on one side of the account, and the Shekhawattee Brigade, on the other. The arrears of tribute up to the 30th April 1840 amounted to Rs. 31,29,000. Major Thoresby considered that 28 lakhs was the highest sum, at which it would be safe to estimate the revenues of the country during the next 10 years; and that 24 lakhs might be taken as the regular annual expenditure. The tribute he considered had been fixed much too high, under the impression that 8 lakhs had been taken by the Mahrattas; though it was proved that their demand was only Rs. 2,40,000, which sum was paid very irregularly. He recommended from the 1st May 1840, the whole 39 lakhs of arrears should be struck

off, and the tribute demand reduced from 8 to 4 lakhs, and that the expenses of the Shekhawattee Brigade, after being reduced, should be defrayed out of the tribute which would enable the State to recover from its depressed condition.

When Colonel Sutherland visited Jeypore in February 1840, he found a great change in parties and all classes of people. General contentment prevailed, the roads were comparatively secure, and all were satisfied with the results obtained by the new form of government. The Governor General in Council, whilst regretting that the expenses had not yet been reduced within the limits of the income, was yet much gratified at the favorable opinion taken by all classes of the proceedings of the ministry.

From Colonel Sutherland, to Secretary to Government, dated 1st February 1843.

With regard to the tribute Colonel Sutherland remarked, that the efforts of Jeypore to fulfil her engagements have led to the present embarrassments. The debt has been caused by the anxiety of successive ministers to pay our tribute, in order to keep or gain our support, or to turn aside our anger. The Mahratta Tribute was what was supposed to have been imposed upon Jeypore, but the subject being transferred from one person to another, the sum at last rose to 8 lakhs of rupees. "Whilst Thakoor Byree Saul was negociating the treaty with Sir "C. Metcalfe at Delhi, by whom 4 lakhs was at first considered a fair "demand; other parties went to Sir D. Ochterlony in Rajpootana, and re-"presented the income of the State to amount to 60 or 70 lakhs. On this "information reaching Delhi, our demands rose to 8 lakhs, as a fixed "tribute, with a contingent demand when the revenue should exceed "40 lakhs. To these exorbitant demands, Byree Saul agreed to enable "him to return to Jeypore where his presence was necessary, to save his "place and position." In another place, Colonel Sutherland observes:—"It were vain to require "from what sources, Jeypore has paid 1 crore "and 54 lakhs to us, or whether the treasure of the State be "exhausted; but I cannot forget, that on my arrival at Jeypore, to "establish the regency, the Mahjee proposed the immediate payment of "all our arrears of tribute, and to give security for the future, as the "inducement to leave the administration of affairs in her feeble hands "during the minority of her son. The tribute we demand now, in addi-"tion to the 3 lakhs required for the Shekhawattee Brigade, and the "sequestration of the revenues of Sambhur, makes a total demand on "the State of nearly 13 lakhs of rupees a year. She is, therefore, but for "the support she receives, and the leniency with which she has been "treated, in a condition of irretrievable ruin, much of which may be traced "to her connection with us."

From Colonel Sutherland, to Secretary to Government, dated 2nd February 1841.

Secretary to Government, to Colonel Sutherland, dated 22nd March 1841.

Before Government could agree to the recommendations made by Major Thoresby, and supported by Colonel Sutherland, it was deemed necessary that some data should be supplied, that the Governor General might be satisfied, that so large a sacrifice of revenue should be shown to be clearly unavoidable. The Governor General also ordered that "in calculating a surplus, a liberal provision was also to be allowed "as a reserve for the purpose, not only of the exigencies of Government,

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"but for objects of improvement, which may be of obvious and general "importance." "His Lordship would only add" continues the despatch, "that in any new arrangements, he would be entirely favorable to the "proposition for maintaining the Shekhawattee Brigade, as an avowed "British force." The Court of Directors took the same generous view of the state of the finances of Jeypore, and directed that they were prepared to give up from any date, which might appear most equitable, the arrears due by the State.

From Secretary to Government, to Colonel Sutherland, dated 8th July 1842.

Consequently, in the following year, the Right Hon'ble the Governor General admitted the necessity of abandoning the arrears of tribute, and saw no objection to the adoption of the proposition made by Major Thoresby, that the 1st November 1830 shall be taken as the date from which the annual tribute shall be assumed to have been reduced from 8 to 4 lakhs of rupees a year. At the same time the Sambhur Lake was restored to the management of the Jeypore Government, and the Shekhawattee Brigade was recognized, and taken over as a British force; the expenses of which were to be defrayed from the tribute itself. This admitted of the total abolition of the "unpalatable Fouj Khurich."

Despatch from Court of Directors, dated 1st November 1843.

The Hon'ble the Court of Directors approved of these proceedings, and in addition suggested, that to save the State from minor charges, on account of arrears, our own tribute might be allowed to remain in arrears, so that the debt to the bankers might be at once liquidated, which would cause no loss to us, beyond the loss of interest.

These liberal measures were received at Jeypore and throughout Rajpootana, with unbounded gratitude and applause. All were now convinced of our disinterestedness of purpose, and of the great benefits we were conferring on the State. The arrears of tribute, so freely and generously sacrificed, as soon as the claim was shown to be too heavy, and to depress the resources of the country, amounted to no less a sum than Rs. 46,28,999.

The Mahjee and Megh Singh, however, did not yet stop their intrigues for the overthrow of the Rawul, and their own possession of power. A Regiment at Hindoun mutinied, excited thereto by emissaries from the city, and was in full march on the capital, when it was promptly met by the troops of the State sent from Jeypore, the command of whom had been taken away from Moona Lall, the late Bukshee, whose fidelity could not be depended on, and given to the Rawul. The city regiments proved staunch, and the mutinous regiments, finding that none others would join them, laid down their arms, were paid up and dismissed. Shortly afterwards, the Mahjee plotted through Megh Singh, the seizure of the strong Hill Fort of Kalug, which is situated 20 miles to the west of Jeypore, on the Sambhur road, and completely commands it, and the country on that direction. The Killadar was a Nathawut, who betrayed his trust, for Rs. 3,000 in cash and assignments of grain on several Kungarote villages, to Kissen Singh and Bishen Singh, relatives of Megh Singh. The parties, who concocted this treachery, met at Pokhur near Ajmere, and were joined by armed men from Marwar, the Thakoors of which State are closely allied with the Kungarote clan of Jeypore; both affording mutual assistance to

each other whenever needed. As the assembly of any considerable number of Kungarote Rajpoots would have been known at the capital, and a watch would have been placed on their proceedings, the men who joined Bishen Singh in his enterprize were obtained from Marwar. On the 15th November 1840, the fort was quietly seized, and a large body of Marwar horsemen assembled to the west, between Kalug and Marwar, for the purpose of giving assistance to the new garrison.

Major Thoresby at once invested the place with every disposable man from Jeypore, and himself proceeded to the spot. He found the position of the fort exceedingly formidable, but was not fully aware of its capacity and strength until after it fell. Major Forster's Brigade joined the camp from Jhoonjnoo. The village at the foot of the hill, on which the fort stands, was quickly carried, and after the upper works, had been well battered, for it was incapable of being breached, being on a scarped hill, a gallant attempt was made to carry it by assault. It failed in consequence of the natural difficulties of the ground, and the strength of the place itself. Major Forster himself and his two sons were wounded, and about 300 men were killed and wounded, the Jeypore troops fighting very gallantly, and vying with the men of the Brigade. This reverse, however, did not diminish the spirits of the attacking party. The advanced positions taken up were maintained, till a battering train should arrive from Nusseerabad, as Kalug was found too strong for the Jeypore Artillery. As soon as the Nusseerabad Train had made two or three marches, however, Kissen Singh surrendered unconditionally.

It would have been supposed, that after so many futile attempts, the Mahjee and the palace faction, or whoever it was exciting these commotions from behind the purdah, would have seen their inutility. It was not so however. No sooner had one intrigue been suppressed, than another, as ill-directed, was set on foot; all aimed against the power of the Rawul. During Major Thoresby's absence at Khetree in July 1843, about one hundred foreigners, chiefly Affghans, who had come from Cabul with our forces, suddenly rose and attacked every one indiscriminately; the object being to cause a disturbance, and to overthrow the government. Fortunately Thakoor Luchmun Singh instantly repaired to the spot, and attacking the rioters, killed several of them, and seized the rest. The two ringleaders were blown away from guns, and the Mahjee's brother, who had entertained the men, was banished from the city for eight years. This tumult affords only another instance of the impolicy of entrusting the affairs of a country to the sway of a weak and irresponsible woman.

In the year 1840 Major Thoresby made a triennial settlement. As his duties rendered it impossible for him to visit the several districts, and there were no trustworthy men to be had, fit for the work of settlement, he was obliged to adhere much to the principles of the Native Government. There were two kinds of contracts usually made with the farmers of revenue in Jeypore. Contracts were concluded early in the season with respect to those pergunnahs, which were not dependant for their crops entirely on the annual rains, and were capable of yielding two crops in the year; whilst with the other portions of the country which are entirely dependant on the rains, and have only one harvest,

conditional contracts were entered into, liable to subsequent adjustment according to the character of the season.

In none of the districts was it found possible to induce the cultivators themselves to lease the lands, nor in the single crop lands, could the farmers, who are not capitalists, have entered into contracts for a term of years. Under these circumstances, Major Thoresby concluded contracts with the condition, that in case of failure of the crop, the contractor should be allowed a remission of 10 per cent. below his contract; but that in cases of good seasons the Government was to share equally with the lessee in all profits received beyond 10 per cent. above his contract, which was to be the right of the lessee alone. On these terms, the estimate for the coming years, exclusive of the revenue from the Sambhur Lake (about ½ lakh) came to Rs. 25,35,294, Rs. 25,60,660, and to Rs. 26,04,253. It appeared afterwards that the actual revenues obtained, fell somewhat short of these sums.

At Khetree, Ramnath had been sent to manage the principality. After the disputes for power between Ramnauth Purohit and his rivals, the Kaiths, not one of the arrangements made by Major Thoresby were carried out by the Rajah. Ramnauth, though unpopular, was forced upon the country, which caused constant altercations, and necessitated now and then the presence of the Shekhawattee Brigade for his support. On the 18th January 1843, the young Rajah of Khetree, Shewnauth Singh, died of small-pox, and the principality was doomed to be afflicted with another minority, and another Ranee Regent. The widow of Shewnath Singh was declared to be on the eve of her confinement, and as the Jagheer of Kotpootlee would revert to the British Government, in failure of male heirs, it was deemed advisable that Major Thoresby should proceed to ascertain the facts of the birth of the expected child. Great precautions to prevent fraud appear to have been taken. The result was the birth of a male child, the present Rajah Futteh Singh.

The Ranees at Khetree, however, were bent on the expulsion of Ramnauth Purohit and of the Jeypore influence. The Jeypore troops could effect nothing in the mountain fastnesses of Khetree, and the Shekhawattee Brigade was again sent to enforce the orders of the Regency. It was opposed at the pass leading to Khetree, and forced it after considerable fighting. The fortress which could not have been taken with the means possessed by the Brigade, if it had been defended, surrendered. One of the Ranees, the Bhutteeaneejee, the originator of the disturbance, was removed to Jeypore where she subsequently died.

Colonel Sutherland being obliged to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope on medical certificate, Major Thoresby was appointed to officiate as Agent, Governor General, and Major Ludlow, Political Agent, Marwar, was appointed to Jeypore, and took charge on the 24th January 1844.

Major Ludlow's endeavors were early directed towards the suppression of rites and practices, which, though most cruel and abhorrent to our feelings, had either gained a deep hold on the Hindoo mind; or had their origin in an abuse of religious observances, which the Rajpoots were unable through want of combination to resist. Of the first were suttee and slavery, and of the latter class, the high sums paid to Bhats and Charuns, under the name of "Tyag," by Rajpoots, on the occasion

of the marriages of their daughters, which led to the commission of female infanticide to an appalling degree Major Ludlow invited the opinions of the Jeypore Council of Regency in the matter of suttee. The Rajawut Bhoput Singh, Thakoor of Jhellye, heir presumptive to the throne, and the first noble in the State, at once denounced the practice. Several others were of the same opinion, but as Major Thoresby considered, that the usual and authorized course of policy of the British Government with all foreign States should not be departed from and the appearance of any appeal avoided, as opposed to the spirit of our treaties with Rajpoot States; and as the British Government did not possess the right to issue a suppressive enactment in States, whose independence in internal affairs was guaranteed, any open agitation of the question might be productive of injurious consequences, and rather aggravate by opposition, the crimes we were anxious to put down. In August 1844, however, the Council of Regency, by an unanimous decision, declared suttee penal within the limits of the Jeypore Territory; and, at the same time, much to their honour, expressed a hope, which from delicacy of feeling was not committed to writing, that their daughters married into foreign clans might be likewise prohibited from becoming suttee. All parties, either assisting or not preventing the perpetration of a suttee, were declared to be guilty, as accessories before the fact, and liable to punishment accordingly. Suttees had never been very numerous in the Jeypore territories, the liberal ideas of Maharajah Sewae Jey Singh, the founder of the city, having been opposed to every thing barbarous and cruel; and it only required an enactment, like the present, to ensure their authoritative suppression. Between the issue of the law, and the date on which the State was made over to the Maharajah, on his attaining his majority, or 5 years, only one suttee took place, on the Marwar border, of a woman burning with the dead body of her child. The Regency at once vindicated their enactment, and all the parties implicated were seized; but as the culprits were travellers, belonging to a foreign territory (Marwar) and unacquainted with the Jeypore laws on the subject, extreme penalties were not inflicted. They were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment from one to six years.

Slave dealing and slavery, in its strict acceptation, had not been common in Jeypore, and had been suppressed by enactment in 1839. There existed voluntary bondsmen working out their debts to their creditors, and household slaves, as in other parts of India; but trading in slaves, and using human beings as so many animals, had always been repugnant to Rajpoot feeling. At Major Ludlow's suggestion, very stringent rules were issued by the Regency against the practice, and the very name of slave was proscribed in the country.

Jeypore took the lead of all Hindoo States in the abolition of suttee, and Bhoput Singh, the Thakoor of Jhellye, is deserving of immortal honor, for the noble way he came forward, before any other Rajpoot, to denounce the custom. Other States and chiefs followed unwillingly in the train of Jeypore. In the matter of payment of "Tyag" to Bhats and Charuns, they were, however, more unanimous. A claim had been put up for a Sovereign of Marwar, as having abolished the levy of excessive sums on account of "Tyag," but the Jeypore Council convincingly exhibited

"the previous proclamation by the great Sewae Jey Singh on the subject, on which the orders of the Marwar Sovereign, who reigned some years after Jey Singh, were based. The arrangements were made by that great man are marked by so wise and liberal a spirit, that they are deserving of record in English as well as in Hindee. "His Highness assembled "the 53 clans of Cuchwahas, and all the nobles and foreign ministers, "and having collected the pundits, he explained to them, that it was a "serious crime in parents to destroy their offspring; and that no Rajpoot "would be suffered in future to kill his daughters within the Jeypore State. "His Highness also desired all the foreign vakeels, who were in attend-"ance, to write to their masters, in order that the same good regulation "might everywhere be instituted and explained, that in the event of "any Cuchwaha being destitute, and unable to pay the 'Daeja' (dowry), "and 'Tyag,' he must come to the town of Jeypore to celebrate the "nuptials of his daughter, where he would receive some assistance from "the Raj; and Raos, Bhats and Charuns, would be unable to levy 'Tyag' "or other extortionate demands. His Highness also enjoined on the "Charuns, that they were not to make any demands of 'Tyag,' &c. from "any one, on a marriage taking place at the capital, and they consented "to act in obedience to this command."

It is worthy of remark that this custom exists in the city of Jeypore to this day, and no Bhat or Charun has the power to ask for payment on the celebration of any marriage within its walls. For a long time these admirable rules of Jey Singh remained in force. They were broken through by the ostentatious vanity of individuals, spending large sums on such occasions; in consequence of which, poorer people lost dignity in case they spent less. Major Ludlow tried to revive these obsolete rules. The Governor General in Council considered, that it would be desirable, but that the operation of the restriction would be of doubtful success. He approved of what had been done, at the same time pronouncing the measure to be one for the Native Durbar, and not for the British Government to initiate. The visits of Bhats and Charuns were restricted to Thakoors, whose estates were within the territories in which they resided. Subsequently in A. D. 1847, another law was passed by the Council of Regency, restricting the demands of the Charuns and Bhats to one-eighth of the yearly income of the estate. The real want, however, to make the law effective, has not been yet supplied. The law says that the mendicant classes cannot demand more than one-eighth of the yearly revenue of the estate, but allows those that prefer doing so, to pay any sum that they please. The wealthier nobles are consequently ostentatiously lavish of their gifts, which compels their equals in family or rank, but poorer in circumstances, to bestow beyond what their means can afford. A law is required to restrict the wealthier, who set the fashion, as it were, in their gifts to the mendicant classes.

The Council of Regency performed their duties in a loose and careless manner. One of the members had died, and the influence of the two Nathawut brothers, the Rawul and Thakoor Luchmun Singh, was overwhelming, and all the power of the State had been grasped by them. The Thakoor especially, who was regarded as proud and haughty, having the command of the army, had used it as an instrument of intimidation to gain his own ends. The Rawul was more tractable, but he was power-

less before Luchmun Singh, who had much greater determination and energy. The other members of the Council had retired to their homes in disgust, and the British Agent felt himself powerless to cope with the evil. At this juncture in November 1846, Colonel Sutherland, who had returned from the Cape of Good Hope, visited Jeypore. He observed, that not filling up the place of one of the members of the Regency, had given a preponderating influence to the Nathawut brothers; that it was perhaps an error having put in both brothers originally, which we could not avoid, as we had then not sufficient influence to have dispensed with either. The Revenue Officers and Treasurers both complained of interference with their departments, and charged the brothers with embezzlement, and giving estates to their own favorites. Colonel Sutherland considered it would be necessary to reconstruct the Council, and having summoned the members, dismissed Thakoor Luchmun Singh to his home, and appointed two others in his place, and in that of the Puchewur Thakoor who had died. As Major Ludlow complained of the chiefs not being men of business, each member was allowed to appoint a mootsuddee, who was on all ordinary occasions to attend the Political Agent, and the Government offices, as his master's representative.

On his departure, Colonel Sutherland left orders for the new Regency to enquire into the charges of embezzlement made by the dewan against the brothers. Moonsiffs were named for the enquiry, whose choice was approved by the Rawul. The grants made by the Rawul had been very large, but the enquiry included a period of ten years and a half, or from a period prior to the appointment of the Regency. Jageerdar grants were resumed, amounting to Rs. 82,328 yearly; villages which had been improperly bestowed, amounted to Rs. 48,147, and the total sums embezzled to Rs. 3,07,164, of which it was stated Rs. 1,56,181 had been paid back; but this appears as doubtful, as that the resumptions were actually carried out.

In the year 1846, an insurrection of rather formidable character, as far as Seekur was concerned, broke out in that principality. Before his death, Rao Rajah Luchmun Singh, the father of Ram Pertab Singh, had granted large estates, amounting to Rs. 80,000 a year, to his three illegitimate children, and to a foundling Ram Singh. They had enjoyed these estates for 14 years, and their possession had not been disturbed, when we had settled the country in A. D. 1834. The Rao Rajah Ram Pertab Singh complained to Colonel Sutherland of the abstraction of so large a portion of the Seekur revenues from himself. On his advice, the Council of Regency determined to dispossess the brothers, and marched a force, which was joined by the Political Agent, to assist the Seekur troops in attacking Singrawut, and the strongholds of the brothers. Singrawut stood a long siege, and was eventually evacuated. The Seekur Rajah then marched his forces against Patoda, and Bahtot, the residence of Doongur Singh, Joowahir Singh, and Bhopal Singh, who were relations of the Rao Rajah, but had assisted the illegitimate brother. Doongur Singh, who had been a Rissaldar in the Shekhawattee Cavalry, was at the time undergoing imprisonment at Agra, previous to transportation, to which he had been sentenced, for an attack on a banker's house at Muttra, with the view of carrying off the banker's

daughter. Jowahir Singh, who with Bhopal Singh, had been driven to outlawry by the destruction of Bahtôt, made a sudden and most daring attack on the Agra Jail, the guard of which, for precaution's sake, had been purposely strengthened, and succeeded in rescuing Doongur Singh. These desperate men then ravaged the country, surprized the Pay Office at Nusseerabad, cut down the guard, and carried off about Rs. 52,000 which had only arrived the previous day, for the payment of the troops at the station. Eventually Doongur Singh was seized, and made over to the Maharajah of Jodhpore, in whose territories he had been captured. Jowahir Singh was tried, but no evidence being fothcoming, he was released, and took refuge in Beekaneer, and with Bhopal Singh and the illegitimate brothers, was only re-settled in Seekur in A. D. 1855.

The finances of Jeypore continued to improve. In the latter part of A. D. 1844, Roopa Bundharin, with the view of getting into favor again, had disclosed the large sums of money deposited with various people in the zenanah by Jootha Ram, which were all forfeited to the State, and were applied to the liquidation of the bankers' debts, which were thereby reduced from Rs. 9,39,587 to Rs. 3,59,545. The Council of Regency in a patriotic spirit, had just before consented to give up their salaries, amounting to Rs. 70,000 a year; and the Mahjee, to the surrender of villages, estimated at Rs. 35,000 a year, and other Ranees also agreed to restore villages, yielding double this sum, to clear the State from its liabilities. In consequence, however, of the discovery of the treasure, these liberal grants were not forced. The debts would have been still further reduced, but for a failure in the periodical rains, and the injuries inflicted on the crops by flights of locusts which infested the country.

During Major Ludlow's incumbency, many important public works were commenced. The passes through the hills in the neighbourhood of the city were made and embellished with gardens. A dispensary was opened in the city, and a school for the instruction of children was instituted, which was gradually being well attended. To provide the city with pure water, it was proposed to bund up a nullah, which flows about a mile and half to the west of the city, and to convey the water thence by a masonry aqueduct. Lieutenant Morton, of the Engineers, was placed at Major Ludlow's disposal for the work, but he left in A. D. 1849, just before its completion. No proper abutment was constructed to the bund on the west side of the nullah, where the ground was low; and consequently as soon as the water reached the gates, which were to conduct it into the city, which was not till the year A. D. 1855, the bank gave way, and the whole labor and work was destroyed. This was the more to be regretted, because the work had been represented to the people as of a national character, and a cess had been levied for its construction, which made the failure more notorious, and not likely to increase confidence in our engineering skill.

Major Ludlow reported very favorably of the temper and qualities of the young Maharajah, who promised to be a merciful and benign ruler. Up to his eleventh year, his progress in all, save his military accomplishments, had been neglected. In September 1845, Pundit Sheodeen, then a student of the Agra College, was appointed his preceptor. The time devoted to his studies was limited, but fair progress was made. The Mahjee had never interfered in the affairs of State, since she had

become thoroughly convinced that our motives in its management were not interested. She was very anxious for the marriage of her son, and had already commenced negociations with the Rewah family for the purpose.

The Council of Regency, notwithstanding the alterations made by Colonel Sutherland, did not work well. Since the dismissal of Thakoor Luchmun Singh, the Rawul had retired to his home, where he remained for two years and a half. Thakoor Bhoput Singh of Jhellye had been ill; and though devoting his time to business, whenever able to do so, this was but seldom. The admission of the two new members, one of whom was the son of the notorious Megh Singh of Diggee, did not tend to facilitate business, as the son inherited all the feelings and antipathies of his father. He was eventually found to have sheltered some of the proscribed followers of Doongur Singh, and, besides being muleted of one-fourth of his estate, was dismissed from the Council of Regency.

The disputes at Khetree between Ramnauth Purohit and the Ranawutjee, the mother of the young Rajah, had not been allayed. To strengthen the hands of the former, a council of four were associated with the manager. The Ranawutjee still seized and appropriated the revenues whenever she could, and chafed at the restrictions placed upon her conduct by Ramnauth. As the members of the Khetree Council were found to be utterly useless, it was deemed better to dismiss them, and to leave Ramnauth unfettered.

Major Ludlow left Jeypore in December 1847, leaving behind him a name, which is remembered with gratitude by all classes to this day. He was succeeded by Captain Rickards, and about the same time, Colonel Low was appointed Agent, Governor General, Rajpootana, in succession to Colonel Sutherland. On the nomination of a new Political Agent, the Rawul returned to Jeypore, and resumed his place in the Council. Colonel Low remarked, that if there had been inconvenience before, from the predominance of the Nathawut party, there was latterly still greater and daily inconvenience, from the cessation of that influence. In fact, the want of efficiency in the Council was complained of by the Rajah, and by every body, whilst those in the Council were continually throwing obstacles in the way, to prevent the speedy settlement of almost every important business, until they, or some of their adherents, should be conciliated to the measure, by some personal advantage, gained for themselves. To obviate the slackness and corruption in the Council, the Rawul was vested with greater power, being made responsible directly to the Political Agent. The consequence of this change was the aggrandizement of the Rawul, whilst the other members of the Regency did nothing. The work was more promptly and efficiently performed, and there was a power of applying directly and peremptorily to the senior member for the despatch of any particular business in hand; but the result was that the administration practically consisted in the Government by the Political Agent, assisted by a working Minister, and not by the Political Agent and Council of Regency.

The Revenue Accounts during this period varied in the receipts from 28 to 30 lakhs of rupees, and the disbursements from 25 to 26 lakhs. Major Ludlow had reported in 1847, that the debt was paid off, but had

forgotten the debt to the privy purse of 3½ lakhs, and other debts occasioned by his great outlay on public works; which, in addition to the bund, for bringing water into the city (costing about 3½ lakhs) had swallowed up 6 lakhs in three years. In the very next year, the treasury showed a deficit of Rs. 5,48,187, caused chiefly by the severe drought of A. D. 1848, and the enhanced price of the Commissariat charges. The rate of interest on the debt up to this time had been no less than 24 per cent., which was reduced with the consent of the bankers to 9 per cent. per annum. The expenditure on public works was stopped; many grants and pensions were resumed, and other retrenchments made.

In the year A. D. 1850, Rao Rajah Ram Pertab Singh of Seekur died childless. There arose, however, a claimant for the estate in the person of Bhyroo Singh, then about 16 years of age. His mother (the Meertunjee) had been pregnant on the death of her husband Rao Rajah Luchmun Singh, and had been confined at her father's house at Gonerao. The fact of the pregnancy had been disputed, and during the late Rao Rajah's life, he had never acknowledged Bhyroo Singh as his brother. On the other side it was urged that had he done so, half of Seekur would have been the right of Bhyroo Singh by the laws of Shekhawattee. The Shekhawattee Chiefs assembled at Seekur, gave their voice in Bhyroo Singh's favor, and he succeeded to the estate, though for a long time his legitimacy was doubted by many.

The receipts of the revenue for the year A. D. 1848-49 had been Rs. 24,39,412, the disbursements for the same period, Rs. 29,05,759, and it was found necessary, for ways and means, to raise a loan of Rs. 4,53,364 to meet the deficiency. Colonel Sutherland in his last report on Jeypore had proposed to make over the State to the young Maharajah, who was at the time only 15 years of age, and of course unqualified to govern so large a country. Both Colonel Low and Captain Rickards were opposed to this, and considered that it would be advisable to surrender it, when it was unencumbered, and with a small surplus in the treasury. No doubt this recommendation was known to officials in the Court, for when the accounts of the succeeding year, ending September 1850 were made up, they exhibited the enormous increase of upwards of 9 lakhs of Rupees in the receipts, or a total of Rs. 33,58,364, which account is now generally allowed to have been cooked for the occasion, to obviate any difficulty on the score of the Finances, to the Maharajah's installation. This flourishing state of affairs astonished even the Political Agent, though it does not appear to have aroused his suspicion. He reported that when all is gathered in, the debts will have been paid off, and there will be a balance of 2½ lakhs in the treasury. Captain Rickards ascribed this favorable aspect to increased exertions in the Revenue Department, by which outstanding balances, amounting to Rs. 2,70,000 were said to have been realized, to the wells which had been sunk, and to the extended cultivation. The disbursements were said to have been Rs. 23,19,910 only, and Rs. 6,47,288 had been paid off to the bankers, leaving nearly 2½ lakhs surplus. The pay of all troops and establishments had been liquidated to the 1st June; but, as has been remarked before, the whole of the year's account must be looked upon with suspicion, as it was not in the power of the Poli-

tical Agent to check it. The actual debt at this time is supposed to have amounted to 10 lakhs of rupees, and this is much more probable than that the revenue, without extraneous causes, worthy of mention, should have increased 9 lakhs in a single year.

The result was, that Colonel Low after showing Government the degree of prosperity to which the country had attained, had no hesitation in recommending, that the Maharajah should be installed in his government, and the control of the Council of Regency should be withdrawn. This was accordingly done, and a khillut, free of expense to His Highness, which had been previously sanctioned by Government, was presented to him.

Before leaving this subject, it will be necessary to say a few words regarding the Council of Regency, and its success at Jeypore, as an administrative institution, as the opinions on the subject appear to have been very various. As early as A. D. 1841, Major Thoresby had proposed its abolition, on account of the avowed inefficiency of the members. He thought that the administration should be conducted more prominently in the name of the Maharajah, by the Political Agent, and one Native Minister, the Rawul. He urged that the measure was only experimental, and that when it failed to work well, the public interest required its dissolution. That it was unconstitutional in itself, as in former times the feudal chiefs were only consulted in matters of peace and war, when their support was needed, and not in matters of internal concern. As a body they were unfit to govern, and wanting in uprightness and habits of business. That the Thakoors of Jeypore were peculiarly unsuited for employment in civil affairs, and incapable of working; and that they were self-opiniated, and not willing to be dictated to by their equals.

Colonel Sutherland, on the other hand, said, that it had been the original intention to admit all parties into the Council, and he had hoped that the junior members would have become trained to habits of business. At all events it was a popular administration. He did not approve of its dissolution. Amongst its members was Bhoput Singh, the heir to the throne, whose services it was now proposed to dispense with. The Council was raised as a counterpoise to the influence of the Nathawuts, yet the two kept in were the Nathawuts, for the undue support of whom we had incurred our unpopularity. These views were appreciated at the time the Council was formed, and have had their influence in Jeypore, in allowing the Government to work well. A Council, in which the principal chiefs have a voice, is constitutional in Rajpootana, though it may fail in practice. As to the qualities of the members of the Council, Colonel Sutherland observed that the nobles of Rajpootana were by no means deficient in administrative ability. Their estates were generally in better order, and better cared for, than the crown lands; their ryots were better off, and more contented than those in our own provinces; and their interests were more looked to, because the chiefs at their estates were very accessible, and knew the interests of their people were identical with their own. It was true that there was a difficulty in interesting these chiefs in the minute general affairs of their sovereigns. They were narrow-minded and selfish to a degree;

they were jealous, and had deep-rooted hatred of one another—the result of a long period of misrule. Still, though ill-suited by education, from laborious and minute investigation, there were amongst them men of great experience; and it was as councillors in this sense, rather than as men of business, that we should look to benefit from associating the chiefs of the country with ourselves.

The Supreme Government agreed with Colonel Sutherland, and decided that if some of the members of the Regency were inefficient, it was preferable to have several men of rank and influence associated with the British representative than allow the whole power and patronage of the State to be engrossed by one chief. The little cordiality exhibited between Major Ludlow and the Council has been already mentioned. He never made any secret of his dislike to the Nathawut nobles; and a common saying, ascribed to him to this day at the capital, is, that as he had turned the "Naths" out of Jodhpore, so he would turn the "Nathawuts" out of Jeypore. He removed one of the Nathawut brothers in a way which offended the other, who lived at his estate; and he filled up vacancies in the Council by parties, directly opposed to them and the other members, which introduced discordant elements into the Regency, and injured its efficiency, so that it became a dead letter during his incumbency.

Captain Rickards, a man of considerable shrewdness and penetration, was called upon by Colonel Low for his opinion of the Council, which is valuable as giving a true insight into the way in which its duties were conducted, and showing many of the causes of partial failure. After manifesting the greater efficiency and promptitude in business, by having only one member to deal with, he says:—"In offering, as you request me, an opinion as to the advantages "or disadvantages, which have accrued to the public interests of the "Rajah's government and country from the association with the British "Agent, of five Native Members of the Council of Regency, I shall best "explain myself by a short detail. Practically there has been no asso-"ciation whatever between the British Agent and Native Members. "The original plan, contemplated by the late Colonel Sutherland, seems "to have been, that the six officials should meet together to consult and "determine upon the affairs of the State. Here, at the first step, reality "was totally opposed to theory. The British Agent could not attend "daily at the Dewan Khana, neither could the five chiefs lay aside their "pride and dignity to attend at the Agency. When the Agent on one "or two occasions did go, his presence there was disliked and reprobat-"ed. Again the promptitude and singleness of purpose of the British "Agent were totally at variance with the inaptness and double dealing "of his co-adjutors; he was accustomed to act in combination with "others; they were wholly ignorant of this mode of administration. "He would give his vote openly; they, if unprompted, were almost in-"capable of forming an opinion, and wholly unwilling to express one: "In short there was established all the antagonism of the English and "Native character, and hence, by mutual consent or necessity, the "association came to an abrupt end. The British Agent became a "supreme authority, neither voting or taking part in the debates of the "Council, but reviewing, approving, or disapproving, all their proceed-

"ings. Their decision, with his sanction, became the law of the terri-
"tory; with his veto, it fell to the ground."

According to Captain Rickards, the experiment was a failure. He would have associated the British Agent, with one Native Minister, or as the Government of Jeypore was actually conducted by him. He allowed, that the real and practical power was entirely in the hands of the Native Minister, Rawul Sheo Singh, and that he had not the power to control him. By his own admission, therefore, his own plan would have failed as signally as those he condemns. Colonel Low was of the same opinion as Captain Rickards, and considered the system of the Regency as ponderous and cumbersome; and that the prosperity of the country was owing to the zeal, ability, and integrity, of the several Political Agents, rather than to, or indeed, in spite of, the Council of Regency.

It is evident from the above, that the Political Agents did not carry their Councils with them. They appear to have required the members to enter too much into the minutiæ of Executive Government, and used them rather as servants of the State than as Councillors, for which alone they were peculiarly fitted, and not for details of business, as admirably pointed out by Colonel Sutherland. In those days, when there were no roads, a journey to the city through the heavy sand was a laborious undertaking; but the members might have contrived to meet two or three times a week, for an hour or two, to consult on the measures of Government; only leaving each member pretty independent, in the executive management of the department, of which he had charge. All administrative work might then have been executed by the Council sitting with the Agent, and not besides. To relieve the Agent from the heavy pressure of current work, he might have been furnished with an assistant, at the expense of the Jeypore State; thus leaving him time for the more important matters, which devolved upon him. The revenue and treasury might have been retained by himself, which would have ensured him the possession of the power of the State, and made him truly the Executive Regent.

But even imperfectly carried out as was the scheme, the condemnation passed upon the Council appears far too sweeping. The particularly disorganized state of Jeypore, at the formation of the Regency, should be taken into consideration, when speaking of its utility; the disputes between the rival factions should be remembered, and the dislike to any interference on the part of the Ranee mother, and an influential party in the State. The attempt to govern the country by the Rawul, supported by the British Agent, had already been tried, and had failed signally. There was no probability of a like course succeeding again, and certainly there was none at the particular time alluded to. By adopting the plan of the Council, we got all the most powerful chiefs on our side, which otherwise we should not have had.

Again in no Native State in India, had so many great and beneficial measures been inaugurated, in so short a time, as were introduced by the Jeypore Council of Regency; and which could not have been carried by the power of a single British Officer, acting with a Native Chief. If the enactment against the perpetration of suttee had been the only enactment issued by the Council, it would have been sufficient to

vindicate its administration from reprobation. The Lahore and other Courts received high praise in the *Government Gazettes*, in common with Jeypore, for the suppression of Suttee, but the Jeypore Court, or rather the body of men, and specially Thakoor Bhoput Singh of Jhellye, who first dared to defy the prejudices of their race, were deserving of more prominent notice than they received. Major Ludlow, the officer who guided them in their measures, also missed his reward. It is a blot on the British Government, incomprehensible to other European nations, that rewards are seldom bestowed for services, not of a military nature. Whilst many whose deeds will never be known or remembered, as they were not done for the good of their fellow creatures, have been marked out, and are decked as worthy of honor; the officer who led the van in uprooting cruel prejudices, and whose name is remembered as a just and energetic ruler of a large State confided to his charge, is allowed to remain unrewarded in his quiet English home. Not only did the Council of Regency under Major Ludlow issue the enactment against suttee, but they also made other laws against female infanticide, slavery, exactions of the Bhats, Charuns, &c., all of which had their origin in the peculiar form of government decided on for the government of the country, during the minority of the Maharajah.

After the country had been made over to the Maharajah, the Rawul still continued minister; and being naturally of an extravagant disposition, and little inclined to business, the revenues of the State were wasted with lavish prodigality to supply his expensive habits. The Rawul himself, content with the name of Prime Minister, left the labor and the patronage to those among his personal followers, who chose to take them. The troops and establishments were soon many months in arrears, whilst the expenditure was increased. The lands which Captain Rickards had resumed were again given away. In addition to this, drought afflicted the country, which caused a further loss to the revenue, and the credit of the State completely sunk in consequence of the pergunnahs assigned to the bankers being appropriated to other purposes, in violation of all faith. The debt in A. D. 1854, only three years after we had withdrawn from the management of the country, amounted to no less than 17 lakhs of Rupees.

The Maharajah himself was too young to take an interest in the cares of Government. Being of a mild retiring disposition, he was overborne by the influence and hauteur of the Rawul. Under these circumstances, he sought the advice and support of the late Sir Henry Lawrence, who had succeeded Colonel Low, as Agent to the Governor General. That advice and support was kindly and freely given, and to the Maharajah's credit was always followed. The Rawul was dismissed from power, and his brother Thakoor Luchmun Singh, an abler and more careful man than the Rawul, was put into his place. To counterbalance the Thakoor's influence, the Pundit Sheodeen, who had hitherto acted as the Maharajah's tutor, was placed in charge of the Revenue Department, and a separate and independent officer appointed to the command of the army. "There was room for all at Jeypore" as Sir Henry Lawrence truly observed, and the counterbalancing influences to the Nathawut party, then introduced, liberated the State from its thral-

dom, without the sacrifice of the energy and ability that the Thakoor undoubtedly possessed in no ordinary degree.

Affairs at Khetree had deteriorated since the death of Ramnauth Purohit in A. D. 1851. His son Gungaram was appointed his successor, but did not possess the talent or ability of his father. The Ranawutjee raised troops for his expulsion, and he was glad to escape to Jeypore. Thakoor Jhoojhar Singh was then sent to Khetree, but he was also withdrawn in consequence of the Ranawutjee, who feared to trust to her own strength alone, having sent a douceur of a lakh of rupees to propitiate the Jeypore Court, to allow her to retain sole power. The "nuzzur" was accepted, but the Court wished to evade the fulfilment of its share of the compact and to reinstate Gungaram. Sir Henry Lawrence, with the view of averting injury to the country, advised moderation to the Court, and suggested the repayment of the "nuzzur" as the only means of freeing the State from the difficulties into which it had been drawn by its acceptance, and of maintaining its own dignity, with respect to its tributary. The Maharajah agreed to this, and also to appoint a strong government for Khetree, which at the same time should be acceptable to the people.

The Ranawutjee had squandered the resources of the country, and had appropriated to her own use many villages beyond the number to which she was strictly entitled. The Jeypore tribute was in arrears. There was a large debt due to bankers, whilst the country was misgoverned and in a state of disorganization. The arrangements planned by the Maharajah with the advice of Sir Henry Lawrence were not carried out however, till after the mutiny of A. D. 1857, when the Jeyore troops, not content with occupying Khetree, also laid siege to, and captured, Kot-Pootlee; a proceeding disapproved of by the Supreme Government who ordered its restoration. Eventually a manager was appointed to Khetree, with the consent of the young Rajah of Khetree and the Ranawutjee, whose disputes between themselves had been of some standing, and had caused many of the troubles under which Khetree was laboring.

As the Maharajah advanced in years, he exhibited a greater interest in the well-being of his country, and more than fulfilled the highest expectations, which had been formed of his character and disposition during his earlier years. When the mutiny broke out, he placed the whole of his forces amounting to between 6 and 7,000 troops, at the Political Agent's disposal, leaving only 700 sepoys and 1,800 Nagas for the defence of his capital. The Jeypore troops marched with the Political Agent to Rewaree and Goorgaon, and subsequently to Pulwul after the Alwur and Bhurtpore troops, who had previously been ordered there, had joined the mutineers. Several Europeans were rescued by the advance of the Jeypore forces, and were safely escorted to Agra. Many of the plundering Mewattee villages were also punished, but as cholera had broken out with virulence amongst the men, and desertions had commenced, besides the appearance of other evident signs of a discontented spirit, it was deemed prudent by the officers of the force to recommend its return to Jeypore; with which request, Major Eden, the Political Agent, who had succeeded Major Rickards in A. D. 1856, complied.

Considering the constitution of the Jeypore troops, it is very much to the credit of the officers who commanded them, that they did not break into mutiny; for there is little doubt that the men were of the same class, exposed to the same influences, and had the same rebellious feeling which had exhibited itself in open mutiny elsewhere. At the capital itself, where are settled many, whose families came originally from Delhi, with which city they have always continued in close community, the state of matters was for a long time exceedingly critical. The Maharajah sheltered the family of the Political Agent in his own palace, and by his careful and wise conduct, and the exhortations to all parties of Pundit Sheodeen, assisted by the good feeling of most of the members of the Court, any outbreak in the city of Jeypore was prevented. The conduct of the Maharajah met with the approbation of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, and the pergunnah of Kot Kasim was granted to Jeypore as a reward for the services preformed by the State to the British Government.

# APPENDICES.

# APPENDIX A.

## *Genealogical Tree of the Maharajahs of Jeypore.*

1. DHOOLEY RAO.
2. KANKUL.
3. HUNNOJEE.
4. JANURDEO.
5. PUJOON.
6. MALESEE.
7. BEEJUL.
8. RAJDEO.
9. KOLUN.
10. KOOTUL.
11. JONSEE. — Hunseerjee, Clan Googawut, Kotree Dhoonee. — Clan Lokjojee, Fief Baasree.
12. ODEYKURUN. — Clan Koombanee, Kotree Bankee.
13. NURSING. — Clan Beelulpota. — Clan Patilpota. — Clan Sheeburmpota, Kotree Needur. — Clan Shekhawuta, Fief Munoharpore, Khundela, Seekur, Khetree. — Clan Nurooka, Fief Ulwur, Oomara, Ludhana.
14. BUNBEER.
15. ODEKURRUN. — Surajee. — Jurujee. — Mulluk. — Bale. — Burujee.
16. CHUNDERSEIN. — All these Clan Bunheerpota.
17. PIRTHEE RAJ. — Clan Kumbhawut, Kotree Mahar.
18. BAHAR MULL. — Clan Poorunmulote, Kotree Nemana. — Bhoorsiye his son adopted Alharwut. — Clan Pudmawut, Kotree Sumbra. — Clan Sarbhawut, Kotree Surol. — Clan Kangawut, Kotree Degroo. — Clan Nathawut, Kotree Chomoh Sumbra. — Clan Boop Singot, Rajawut. — Portabjee (extinct.) — Clan Balladdheret, Kotree Ashrola. — Sooltanjee (extinct.) — Clan Kuteeawut, Kotree Kherwa. — Clan Chhitarbhojpot, Kotree Bagroo.
19. BHUGWUNT DASS. — Madho Singh, Fief Bhanpore. — Soor Singh, Rajawut. — Joggut Singh.
20. MAUN SINGH. — Abhey Raj, Fief Lowan.
21. JUGGUT SINGH. — Bheem Singh (extinct.) — Urjoon Singh, Fief Dhoolee. — Sukhut Singh, Fief Paharlee. — Kullian Singh, Fief Chandlee. — Hirumut Singh, Rajawut.
22. MAHA SINGH. — Jeejhar Singh, Fief Jhellye.
23. JEY SINGH (Mirza Rajah.)
24. RAM SINGH. — Keerut Singh, Fief Kamah, (excluded.)
25. KISHEN SINGH.
26. BISHEN SINGH.
27. SEWAE JEY SINGH.
28. BESUREE SINGH. — 29. MADHO SINGH.
30. PIRTHEE SINGH. — 31. PERTAB SINGH. — 32. JUGGUT SINGH II. — 33. JEY SINGH III. — 34. RAM SINGH.

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# APPENDIX B.

*List of the "Kotrees" of Jeypore showing the yearly Revenue of the principal Fief, the Sub-Fiefs and the Total amount of estate held by each Family.*

| Number. | Names of "Kotrees." | Names of Fiefs. | Yearly Income of principal Fief. | No. of Sub-Fiefs in family. | Total yearly Income held by Family. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Rs. As. P. | | Rs. As. P. | |
| 1 | Purunmulote ... ... | Neemree ... ... | 10,000 0 0 | 1 | 10,000 0 0 | The 12 Kotrees of Pirthee Raj. |
| 2 | Bheempota ... ... | *Extinct* ... ... | ..... | ... | ....,... | |
| 3 | Nathawut ... ... | Choumoo ... ... | 70,000 0 0 | 10 | 2,20,000 0 0 | |
| 4 | Puchaenote ... ... | Lambra ... ... | 17,700 0 0 | 3 | 24,700 0 0 | |
| 5 | Sooltanote ... ... | Soorut ... ... | 22,000 0 0 | ... | 22,000 0 0 | |
| 6 | Kungarote ... ... | Diggee ... ... | 50,000 0 0 | 22 | 6,00,000 0 0 | |
| 7 | Rajawut ... ... ... | Chundlai ... ... | 20,000 0 0 | 16 | 1,98,137 0 0 | |
| 8 | Pertabjee ... ... ... | Extinct ... ... | ..... | ... | ..... | |
| 9 | Bulbudherote ... ... | Achrote ... ... | 28,850 0 0 | 21 | 1,30,000 0 0 | |
| 10 | Sheodasjee ... ... | Extinct ... ... | ..... | ... | ..... | |
| 11 | Kullianote ... ... | Rutwar ... ... | 25,000 0 0 | 19 | 2,45,000 0 0 | |
| 12 | Chutterbhoojote ... | Buggroo ... ... | 40,000 0 0 | 6 | 1,00,000 0 0 | |
| | Googawut ... ... | Dhoonee ... ... | 70,000 0 0 | 13 | 1,67,900 0 0 | Extra Kotree. |
| | Khoombanee ... ... | Bhansko ... ... | 21,000 0 0 | 2 | 23,787 0 0 | ditto. |
| | Khoombawut ... ... | Mahar ... ... | 27,530 0 0 | 6 | 40,738 0 0 | ditto. |
| | Sheoburrumpota ... | Neendhur ... ... | 10,000 0 0 | 3 | 49,500 0 0 | ditto. |
| | Bunbeerpota ... ... | Batkoh ... ... | 19,000 0 0 | 3 | 26,575 0 0 | ditto. |
| | Nurooka ... ... ... | Ooniara ... ... | 2,00,000 0 0 | 6 | 3,00,000 0 0 | ditto. |
| | Bhankawut ... ... | Lohwan ... ... | 15,000 0 0 | 4 | 34,600 0 0 | ditto. |

J. C. BROOKE,
*Late Political Agent, Jeypore.*

# APPENDIX C.

*Statement showing the Revenue of the Jeypore State from A. D.* 1855-56 *to A. D.* 1860-61.

| | A. D. 1855-56. | A. D. 1856-57. | A. D. 1857-58. | A. D. 1858-59. | A. D. 1859-60. | A. D. 1860-61. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Land Revenue and Sambhur Lake ... ... | 19,56,366 | 21,07,034 | 21,04,739 | 23,41,342 | 23,88,373 | 25,72,763 |
| Customs ... ... ... | 3,84,636 | 4,06,271 | 3,41,109 | 3,94,580 | 4,19,673 | 4,05,000 |
| Mint ... ... ... | 46,775 | 25,504 | 58,526 | 66,953 | 35,353 | 57,000 |
| Fees of Civil Courts ... | 35,298 | 30,070 | 18,755 | 18,838 | 37,708 | 50,000 |
| Police ... ... ... | 8,358 | 9,217 | 23,893 | 34,345 | 42,377 | 35,000 |
| Tributes ... ... ... | 3,59,095 | 3,45,745 | 3,49,757 | 3,35,851 | 3,37,066 | 3,40,588 |
| Different Offices ... ... | 1,51,774 | 1,47,654 | 1,78,142 | 1,27,617 | 1,66,241 | 1,50,190 |
| Succession Duty ... ... | 93,003 | 1,03,227 | 40,351 | 62,886 | 38,673 | 60,000 |
| Interest ... ... ... | 6,353 | 9,643 | 5,486 | 1,129 | 16,714 | 15,000 |
| Miscellaneous ... ... | 1,18,573 | 1,17,201 | 81,157 | 71,316 | 71,215 | 79,489 |
| TOTAL ... ... | 31,60,205 | 33,01,571 | 32,01,919 | 34,54,860 | 35,53,397 | 37,65,001 |

NOTE.—In 1849-50 under the Regency the total revenue was ... Rs. 34,19,849
" 1850-51 ditto ditto ... 29,42,620
" 1851-52 under Rawul Sheo Singh ditto ... 28,73,089
" 1852-53 ditto ditto ... 31,25,915
" 1853-54 ditto ditto ... 26,93,772
" 1854-55 ditto ditto ... 32,59,482

J. C. BROOKE, *Colonel,*
*Late Political Agent.*

# APPENDIX D.

*Statement showing the Expenditure of the Jeypore State from A. D.* 1855-56 *to A. D.* 1860-61.

| | A. D. 1855-56. | A. D. 1856-57. | A. D. 1857-58. | A. D. 1858-59. | A. D. 1859-60. | A. D. 1860-61. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Charities ... ... ... | 56,266 | 58,015 | 65,015 | 63,896 | 75,878 | 68,900 |
| Imperial charges ... ... | 32,359 | 22,516 | 27,202 | 39,623 | 75,562 | 81,000 |
| Tribute to British Government ... ... | 4,00,000 | 4,00,000 | 4,00,000 | 4,00,000 | 4,00,000 | 4,00,000 |
| Commissariat ... ... | 5,46,773 | 5,26,410 | 5,83,794 | 5,66,339 | 5,58,077 | 7,48,256 |
| Army ... ... ... | 8,15,929 | 8,80,541 | 10,57,835 | 10,40,443 | 9,74,027 | 9,40,807 |
| Education ... ... ... | 13,362 | 14,627 | 16,942 | 18,631 | 22,033 | 25,869 |
| Interest on debt ... ... | 26,896 | 29,422 | 70,057 | 38,990 | 72,363 | 63,500 |
| Charges of Collection ... | 3,59,948 | 4,12,701 | 4,55,964 | 4,64,394 | 4,92,727 | 4,68,126 |
| Public Works ... ... | 53,833 | 1,47,846 | 75,371 | 74,454 | 70,827 | 1,89,000 |
| Refunds, &c. ... ... | 1,819 | 6,590 | 18,385 | 24,183 | 1,53,428 | 22,909 |
| Miscellaneous ... ... | 30,326 | 62,458 | 54,398 | 68,612 | 1,07,115 | 43,349 |
| Allowance to District Officers and Enamdars | 2,29,239 | 2,28,844 | 2,33,049 | 2,68,659 | 2,58,666 | 2,57,994 |
| Customs ... ... ... | 1,03,625 | 1,03,838 | 1,11,329 | 1,15,798 | 1,19,812 | 1,19,813 |
| Criminal charges ... ... | 91,418 | 97,766 | 1,33,442 | 1,26,578 | 1,13,844 | 1,11,433 |
| Rewards ... ... ... | 19,858 | 39,593 | 32,569 | 35,016 | 56,023 | 19,643 |
| TOTAL ... ... | 27,94,549 | 30,44,397 | 33,51,341 | 33,60,704 | 35,65,542 | 35,77,113 |

NOTE.—In 1849-50 under the Regency the total expenditure was ... Rs. 28,94,185
" 1850-51 ditto ditto ... ... 30,81,761
" 1851-52 under Rawul Sheo Singh ditto ... ... 31,73,999
" 1852-53 ditto ditto ... ... 36,08,358
" 1853-54 ditto ditto ... ... 31,04,583
" 1854-55 ditto ditto ... ... 31,32,000

J. C. BROOKE,
*Late Political Agent.*

# APPENDIX E.

*Statement showing the Jagheerdar Horse maintained agreeably to the Feudal System in the Jeypore State.*

| No. | Name of Clan. | Amount of Jagheer by Rekh. | No. of Horses by Rekh. | Number excused. | Number with which service is actually performed. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1 | Nathawut ... ... ... | 4,17,452 | 783 | 200 | 583 |
| 2 | Rajawut ... ... ..... | 3,21,445 | 617 | 118 | 499 |
| 3 | Koombhance ... ... ... | 38,532 | 50 | 13 | 37 |
| 4 | Koonbhawut ... ... ..... | 29,562 | 44 | 8 | 36 |
| 5 | Koochaha ... ... ... ... | 3,100 | 6 | 1 | 5 |
| 6 | Kulleanote ... ... ..... | 1,96,997 | 337 | 36 | 301 |
| 7 | Kungarote ... ... ... | 5,21,438 | 1,033 | 170 | 863 |
| 8 | Rathore ... ... ..... | 2,02,356 | 333 | 60 | 273 |
| 9 | Sooltanote ... ... ... | 56,272 | 124 | 15 | 109 |
| 10 | Shekhawut ... ... ..... | 1,10,319 | 255 | 32 | 223 |
| 11 | Sheoburumpota ... ..... | 1,55,106 | 276 | 62 | 214 |
| 12 | Somasurpota ... ... ... | 12,800 | 24 | 2 | 22 |
| 13 | Burdgoojur ... ... ..... | 30,400 | 59 | 8 | 51 |
| 14 | Bulbudherote ... ... ... | 13,600 | 99 | 17 | 82 |
| 15 | Goorud ... ... ..... | 16,000 | 2 | 2 | ..... |
| 16 | Chutterbhoojote ... ... ... | 83,703 | 149 | 20 | 129 |
| 17 | Chundrawut ... ... ..... | 12,291 | 24 | 9 | 15 |
| 18 | Jadoo ... ... ... ... | 4,500 | 9 | 1 | 8 |
| 19 | Poorunmullote ... ..... | 21,200 | 35 | 4 | 31 |
| 20 | Dheerawut ... ... ... | 25,721 | 46 | 1 | 45 |
| 21 | Bankawut ... ... ..... | 35,040 | 65 | 4 | 61 |
| 22 | Googawut... ... ... ... | 71,161 | 121 | 40 | 81 |
| 23 | Punwar ... ... ..... | 1,000 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 24 | Ranawut ... ... ... ... | 19,200 | 17 | 17 | ..... |
| 25 | Nurooka ... ... ..... | 1,44,486 | 266 | 36 | 230 |
| 26 | Pecchaenote ... ... ... | 42,270 | 62 | 8 | 54 |
| 27 | Bunbeerpota ... ... ..... | 29,275 | 52 | 8 | 44 |
| 28 | Chohan ... ... ... ... | 21,620 | 37 | 3 | 34 |
| 29 | Balapota ... ... ..... | 54,200 | 97 | 7 | 90 |
| 30 | Seekurwall ... ... ... | 4,950 | 9 | 1 | 8 |
| 31 | Rajgurka ... ... ..... | 841 | 1 | 1 | ..... |
| 32 | Humeerddka ... ... ... | 53,535 | 139 | 15 | 124 |
| 33 | Hada ... ... ... ..... | 4,425 | 4 | 4 | ..... |
| 34 | Oograwut ... ... ... | 1,200 | 2 | 2 | ..... |
| | Total ..... | 27,91,657 | 5,179 | 899 | 4,280 |

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